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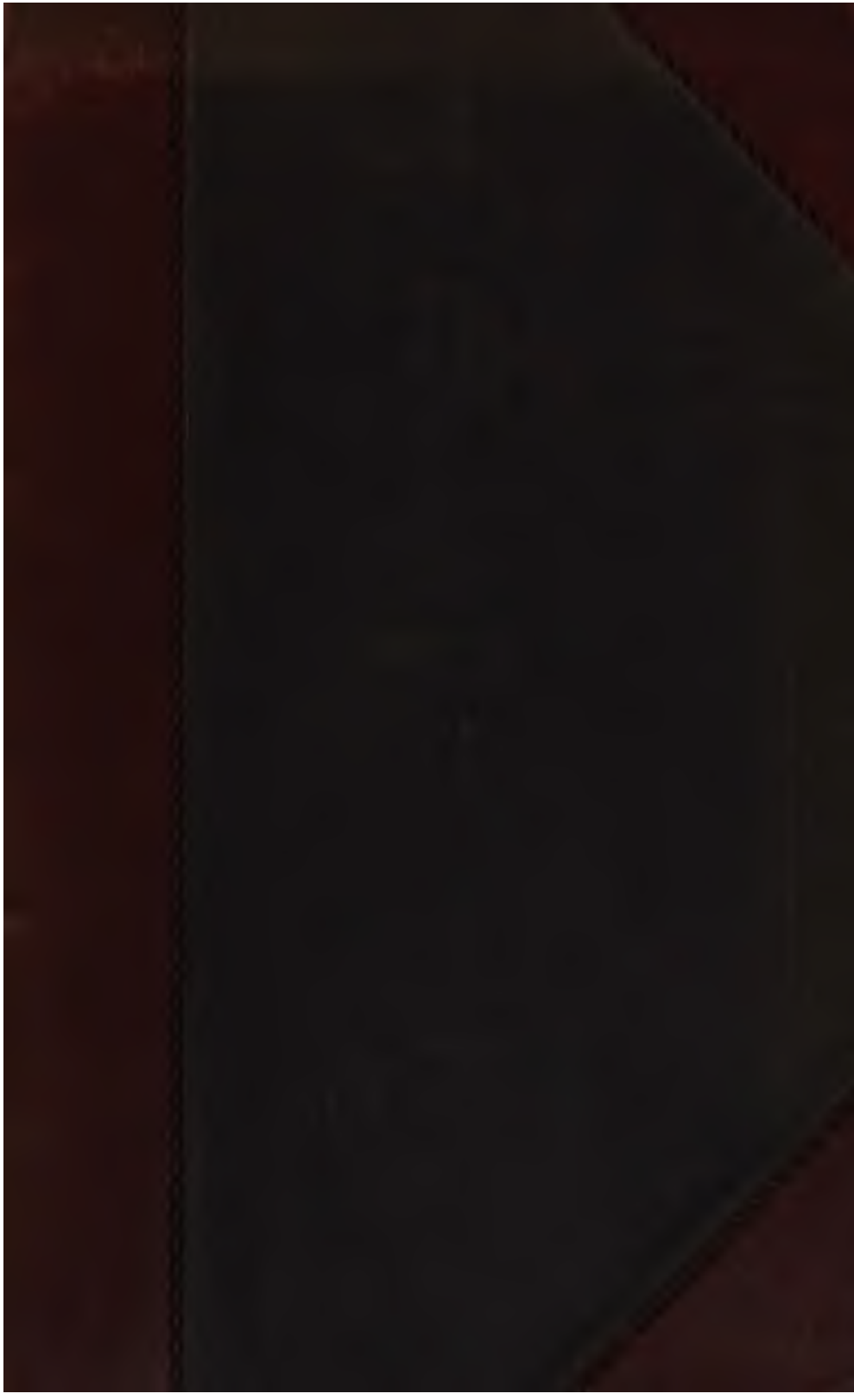

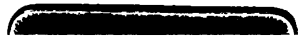

PREFACE

TO

BELLENDENUS.

Henry Corbin

A FREE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFACE TO BELLENDENUS;

CONTAINING

ANIMATED STRICTURES ON THE GREAT POLITICAL CHARACTERS OF THE PRESENT TIME.

Ἅπαντες μὲν αεὶ γλιχονται λεγειν, ἀξιως δ' ειπειν ουδεις δεδυνηται.

DEMOSTHENES.

Paſſim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, cruenta humus, et aliquando etiam victis ira virtuſque. TACITUS.

Was it for me the dark abyſs to tread,
And read the book which many cannot read. DRYDEN.

LONDON:

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M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

55°. a. 48.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the learned Author of the following Preface, had condeſcended to favour the Public with his name, motives of delicacy would have reſtrained us from tranſlating it without the expreſs ſanction of his approbation. As he has not done this, we may indeed indulge conjecture concerning him; but conjecture is in its very nature vague, and of neceſſity it is often fallacious.

IT would, however, be invidious and malignant to ſuppoſe that any man delivers ſentiments in a dead

A language,

language, which he will not avow, or which he cannot vindicate, in his own. We will not therefore believe that, with reſpect to the Editor of BELLENDENUS, we have any reſentment to deprecate: we are even inclined to hope that he will expect no farther apology from us than we are ready to make, from the conſciouſneſs of not having rendered adequate juſtice to his taſte, his erudition, and his genius.

ALTHOUGH we may venture to claim ſome commendation for our diligence, we are not reluctant to confeſs that this our youthful progeny has not animal ſtrength ſufficient to undergo the ſeverity of inquiſitional tortures. *Ab iis autem qui multa*

multa ingeniis donanda putant, we are ſecure of complacency and candour. From others who, not being able to enjoy the original picture of a maſter, are content to poſſeſs even an inferior copy, ſome acknowledgment is due to exertions made with a view to their gratification and benefit.

We therefore diſmiſs our performance with a mixture both of fear and hope: of fear, not ſo great as to depreſs; of hope, ſufficiently temperate.

The Dedications introduced in the work of Bellendenus, have no immediate connection with the Preface. But they claim attention from

their energy and elegance; and the perſons to whom they are addreſſed are ſo prominent in the political picture before us, and ſo conſpicuous in our annals, that it would be injurious to the Editor, the Public, and ourſelves, not to inſert tranſlations of them.

DEDICATIONS.

MR. BURKE.

WITH reſpect ſuitable to the occaſion,
This Book is inſcribed to
EDMUND BURKE;
A man moſt peculiarly diſtinguiſhed
By learning alike elegant and extenſive;
By thoſe nobler energies of mind,
Acute to invent, prompt to explain,
Fruitful to adorn:
Who has conſiſtently and conſtantly deſerved
From Science,
Which meed alone he himſelf has found
To defy every viciſſitude
Of place and time;
From the Senate,
Which, when menaced by danger, conſidered him
Its pride and its ſupport;
Laſtly, from this our country
(To its moſt affectionate citizens,
Alas! not always generous or juſt)
All that can be conferred
Of honour or of gratitude.

LORD

LORD NORTH.

IN teſtimony of the profoundeſt reverence,
Attachment, and admiration,
This book is dedicated to the moſt honourable
FREDERICK LORD NORTH,
Who, in that ſpecies of eloquence
Steady to its object, whilſt temperate in its means,
Is confeſſedly unrivalled;
Who, in every ſocial intercourſe of life,
Preſerves the trueſt dignity,
Neither tinged with gloom, nor debaſed by ſeverity,
But marked by affability
And the ſweeteſt humour;
Who, poſſeſſing claims to the partial regards
Of the firſt both of men and citizens,
With ſimple and unaffected candour
Has ſhewn himſelf able
To forget enmities;
Who, when deſerted by the faithleſs train
Of ungrateful followers,
Suffered no reſentment to purſue them;
Who, in defending the laws and conſtitution of
his country,
Was uniformly vigilant;
Who, in times replete with danger,
And involving his own ſecurity,
Reſted unappalled
On the noble conſciouſneſs of Virtue.

MR.

MR. FOX.

WITH becoming ſentiments of reverence
This book is inſcribed to
CHARLES JAMES FOX;
Becauſe he has not only cultivated
The pureſt and moſt accompliſhed eloquence,
But applied it, in all its perfection,
To the ſafety and dignity of his country;
Becauſe, in contracting either
Friendſhips or enmities,
He has always ſhewn himſelf
In the former immutable, placable in the latter;
Becauſe, with a mind
Firm, conſiſtent, invincible,
He has continued ſteady to his principles,
Diſdaining the reſentments of wicked men;
Becauſe, in a buſineſs
Obviouſly claiming the public regard,
He conducted himſelf,
Not as the inſidious followers of popularity,
But with perſeverance and with fortitude;
Becauſe, laſtly,
In that moſt diſhonourable ſhipwreck
Of a moſt excellent and ſagacious Senate,
He deemed that, and that only, to be afflicting,
Which he knew to be baſe.

To

To be the noble guardian of the public weal,
In conjunction with virtuous men,
Was to him far more eſtimable
Than an union with thoſe who were unprincipled,
Pregnant with danger, perfidy, and avarice *.

* CUPIDE, in the *Latin* dedication, may be applied either to avarice or ambition.

PREFACE

TO

BELLENDENUS.

THE Three Books which this volume contains, written by Bellendenus, have long been remarkably ſcarce*. We have recovered them from the duſt and darkneſs of libraries; we have taken pains to render them both more deſerving of

* I. 'De Statu Prisci Orbis in Religione, 'Re politica, et Litteris.' II. 'Ciceronis Prin-'ceps; ſive, De Statu Principis et Imperii.' III. 'Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Sena-'tusque Romanus; ſive, De Statu Reip. et 'Urbis Imperantis Orbis.'

public attention, and more eaſily attainable: we indulge therefore the well-grounded hope that our diligence will receive the grateful acknowledgments of the learned.

CONCERNING the writer himſelf, and the order in which theſe works originally appeared, we have ſubjoined a few remarks at the concluſion of this Preface. They perhaps will not altogether ſatisfy thoſe, who themſelves purſue, and who eſtimate ſomewhat too highly, a certain faſtidiouſneſs of reading. Yet we beg leave to aſſure even them, that from the text and margin of the preſent edition, we have removed a profuſion of errors which had crept into the former. All thoſe paſſages which appear to have received the particular attention of Bellendenus himſelf, we have ſedulouſly examined. We have been farther ſolicitous that this edition ſhould deſerve praiſe from its accuracy in particular, as well as from the general perſpicuity and neatneſs of the impreſſion.

BELLENDENUS began and had made conſiderable progreſs in another work, intitled,

tled, 'De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum *,' of which every man the leaſt converſant with books has heard. He who has ſeen, and whoſe vigilant endeavours to poſſeſs it have proved ſucceſsful, is certainly to be reckoned amongſt the few, who have a taſte for rare and valuable books. That part of the work which has fallen into our hands, treats of Cicero alone. It is written in a ſtyle of the pureſt Latinity, and indeed, we may ſay, almoſt verbatim in the language of Cicero himſelf.

When ſuch and ſo great a man led the way, the public expectation might juſtly enough be high, reſpecting the other two whom Bellendenus propoſed to connect with Cicero, as the companions of his ſtudies and partners of his fame. Our moſt diligent endeavours to diſcover who they were, for a long time ended in diſappointment. We had at length the good fortune to meet with ſome individuals of moſt profound learning, who ſatisfied us that our author intended to complete his work by treating

* The Three Ornaments of Rome.

of Seneca and the Elder Pliny. It is eaſy to collect from his performance, that, whatever author he choſe either to praiſe, or to imitate in his own appropriate language, he poſſeſſed a fund of words adequate to his purpoſe. The death of the writer prevented the accompliſhment of the excellent ſcheme he had in view: to him indeed death came not immaturely; but no good nor ſcientific man can ſufficiently lament the circumſtance. Fortune envied us, perhaps, the extenſive and valuable fruits of thoſe ſtudies, in which he had been ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully employed. For Bellendenus himſelf, death was fortunate and happy: his providential removal from the world prevented his ſeeing Britain conſumed by the flames of war; our nobles indulging an animoſity fatal to their country; the rights of the church injurioufly trampled upon; the untimely deaths of the moſt virtuous citizens; the execrable murder of the ſovereign; the decay and almoſt utter ruin of that city, which he wiſhed his Royal Patron to adorn and improve by the ſplendour of a Henry's virtues.

A PRE-

A PREJUDICE had long exiſted, and was progreſſively gaining ground amongſt the learned, that Middleton, in compoſing his Life of Cicero, had greatly enriched his work from the ſplendid ſtores of Bellendenus. It was aſſerted that, the better to conceal his theft, he had been careful not to give the name of Bellendenus, amongſt the various writers whom he regularly profeſſes to mention, with grateful acknowledgments of aſſiſtance. Zealous as I conſtantly had been to proclaim the praiſe of Middleton, I confeſs that ſuch intimations excited my reſentment. I was ever in the habits of thinking that deciſions to the prejudice of ſo great a character, required the extremeſt diffidence and caution. I was alſo well convinced of the acuteneſs of literary envy, of the indiſcriminating avidity with which the ignorant liſten to ſuch tales; how retentive the idle and officious are in the remembering of trifles, and how induſtrious in the propagation of calumny. Experience alſo teaches, that they who refuſe their belief, will give their attention, whenever an attempt is made to detract from thoſe, who are more eminently diſtinguiſhed by

their ſcientific attainments. On the nature of theſe ſuſpicions directed againſt the fame of Middleton, I had often and ſeriouſly reflected with myſelf, and diſputed with others. I conſtantly found that they who hated Middleton the moſt, were leaſt of all able to ſatisfy me. Titius, for inſtance, ſuſpected, becauſe Caius had ſuſpected before; Sempronius was of opinion that, many years ſince, he had either read ſo in ſome book which he could not remember, or had heard ſome learned perſon make aſſertion to that effect. Very few indeed had ſeen the work of Bellendenus; and not one, except Mr. Warton, had ever been at the pains to compare it with Middleton's performance. Having however myſelf collated the two compoſitions with fidelity and diligence, I am at length able to ſpeak deciſively on the ſubject. Middleton was a man of no common attainments: his learning was elegant and profound, his judgment acute and poliſhed; he had a fine and correct taſte; and his ſtyle was ſo pure and ſo harmonious, ſo vigorouſly flowing without being inflated, that, Addiſon alone excepted, he ſeems to me without a rival. As to his mind,

mind, I am compelled with grief and reluctance to confeſs it was neither ingenuous nor faithful.

Of human fidelity, in matters of a ſacred nature, I preſume not to ſpeak with aſperity or anger: yet am I vehemently diſpleaſed that a man, poſſeſſed of an elegant and enlightened mind, ſhould deprive Bellendenus of the fame he merited. For I aſſert, in the moſt unqualified terms, that Middleton is not only indebted to Bellendenus for many uſeful and ſplendid materials, but that, wherever it anſwered his purpoſe, he has made a mere tranſcript of his work. He reſided at Cambridge, where he poſſeſſed all the advantages which that univerſity and all its valuable libraries afford, to make collections for his undertaking. Yet did the man* who propoſed a Syſtem for the Regulation of a Univerſity Library, poſſeſs the writings of Bellendenus, anticipating all that he profeſſed to accompliſh. I cannot deny but that he makes ſome alluſion to this particular work of Bellendenus in his Preface, although in

* Middleton, vol. iii.

a very dark and myſterious manner; particularly where he ſpeaks of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, which whoever wiſhes to underſtand minutely, has only to peruſe Cicero's Epiſtles with attention; of the tediouſneſs of being obliged to peruſe Cicero's works two or three times over; of the care and trouble of conſorting, and arranging for future uſe, various paſſages ſcattered through the different volumes; and, above all, of the very words of Cicero, which give both a luſtre and authority to a ſentiment, when woven originally into the text.

To conclude the whole—whatever Middleton oſtentatiouſly declares it to be his wiſh and his duty to do, had been already done to his hands, faithfully and ſkilfully, by Bellendenus, from the beginning of the work to its final concluſion.

THERE is extant a very pleaſant dialogue written by Stephen Forcatulus, 'De Raptu Animorum,' in which he ſeverely reprehends literary thefts. Thomaſius has alſo publiſhed a book on the ſame ſubject; to which,

which, in the opinion of Morhofius*, much may be added. If any one ſhall hereafter chooſe to republiſh either of theſe books, he will be the inſtrument of branding Middleton with the ſame kind of infamy, which is deſervedly attached to the memories of Salmaſius, Lipſius, Wouwerius, and other plagiariſts of diſtinguiſhed abilities and learning. Of his poſthumous reputation, who profeſſed to be the friend and guardian of Tully's fame, I will ſpeak once for all in the words of that illuſtrious Roman:—Of Middleton 'we will forbear to make farther mention; what we have ſaid has been 'reluctantly, and without the ſmalleſt portion of malignity†.'

With reſpect to the Three Books, in my opinion, their intrinſic merit ſufficiently juſtifies their introduction to the Public. I have no doubt but they will amply recommend themſelves to every more intelligent perſon, as well from the dignity of the ſubject they diſcuſs, as from their perſpicuous mode of argumentation, their beauty

* Morhof. lib. i. cap. 5. † Philipp. 8.

of

of ſentiment, their variety and elegance of ſtyle.

BELLENDENUS has, in the firſt, brought to light, from the moſt remote antiquity, many curious facts which had been buried in the gloomy darkneſs of oblivion. Whatever relates to the diſcipline of the Perſians and Egyptians, which was obſcure in itſelf, and very variouſly diſperſed, he has carefully collected, placed in one uniform point of view, and poliſhed with diligent acuteneſs. In a manner the moſt plain and ſatisfactory, he has deſcribed the firſt origin of ſtates, their progreſſive political advances, and how they differed from each other. Thoſe fabulous inventions with which Greece has encumbered hiſtory, he explains and refutes.—Philoſophy owes him much. He has confuted all thoſe ſyſtems which were wild and extravagant, and removed the difficulties from ſuch as were in their operation ſubſervient to religious piety. But he has in particular confirmed and dignified, with every aſſiſtance of ſolid argument, whatever

ever tended to ſerve the great truths of revelation. Much, however, as he has been involved in the gloom of ancient times, he in no one inſtance aſſumes the character of a cold unfeeling antiquarian: he never employs his talents upon thoſe intricate and uſeleſs queſtions, in endeavouring to explain which, many luckleſs and idle Theologiſts torment themſelves, and loſe their labour. The ſtyle of Bellendenus, in this performance, is perſpicuous, and elegant without affectation. The different parts of the work are ſo well and ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed, that we meet with nothing harſh or diſſonant, no aukward interval or interruption, nothing placed where it ought not to remain.

In the ſecond book he ſhews, that whoever deſires to exerciſe authority over others, ſhould firſt of all learn the government of himſelf; ſhould remember and be obedient to every thing which the laws command; ſhould, on all occaſions, be ready to hear the ſentiments of the wiſe; diſdaining whatever bears affinity to corruption, and abhorring the deluſions of flattery:

flattery: he ſhould be tenacious in preſerving his dignity, and cautious how he attempts to extend it; he ſhould be remarkable for the purity of his morals, and the moderation of his conduct; and never direct his hand, his eye, or his imagination, to that which is the property of another.

With reſpect to the duty of a ſenator—upon what baſis the rights of a free but jealous people are ſuſpended—the hallowed care thoſe inſtitutions demand, which have deſcended to us from our anceſtors—of theſe ſubjects Bellendenus treats in his third book; and it is very difficult to determine whether his matter or his language moſt dignify and adorn each other.

Of thoſe Three Ornaments of Britain to whom this edition is dedicated, we make no ſcruple of declaring, that we both think and ſpeak with honour*. In one of theſe characters we have ſeen the traits of a for-

* The Three Books of Bellendenus, enumerated page 1, are reſpectively dedicated, by the Editor, to Mr. Burke, Lord North, and Mr. Fox.

tune

tune moſt ſingularly oppoſite. Formerly, when he roſe to ſpeak, the Senate liſtened in the ſtilleſt ſilence; but now, although his eloquence be pure and ſoft as the ſnows of winter, he cannot, but with difficulty, obtain attention. When I conſider the extreme indignity, indeed I may ſay atrociouſneſs, of ſuch conduct, the beautiful language which Paterculus* has applied to Druſus, often preſents itſelf to my mind. 'He found the ſenate inimical to thoſe 'meaſures of which their own good was 'evidently the object. Such indeed was 'the ſingular fortune of Druſus, that the 'ſenate liſtened with greater complacency 'to thoſe whoſe motives might be ſuſpect-'ed, than to him whoſe wiſdom and virtue 'were conſpicuous. The honour which he 'conferred upon their body, they diſdain-'ed; but what was aimed againſt their ſecu-'rity by others, they bore with equanimity.' His ſuperior luſtre they were unable to ſupport, but they allowed the more moderate claims of his opponents.

* Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 13.

THERE

THERE is a man who has a great command of words, eſteemed by the vulgar a firſt-rate orator, ſimply from his celerity of ſpeaking. Whatever his followers may ſay, will not deter me from ſpeaking what I think of the eloquence of Burke. Athens was the parent and patroneſs of ſcience; but an Athenian audience would have liſtened with delight to Burke; would have admired his inventive copiouſneſs of diction; would have thought the goddeſs Suada* herſelf enthroned upon his lips.

THERE were ſome amongſt the Romans who conſidered a dry ſtyle†, and poverty of ſentiment, as Attic, provided the language was poliſhed, courtly, and elegant; and who diſdained the lofty, magnificent, copious ſtyle of oratory. But many who prided themſelves on their taſte, their learning, and their judgment, were ignorant of the gradations, the inequalities, and variety of Attic eloquence. Cicero‡ himſelf was, by ſome, inſolently termed diffuſe, Aſiatic, and tumid. In theſe days alſo there are

* Cic. Brut. † Cic. Brut. ‡ Quint. xii. cap. 8.

not

not wanting thoſe who inſinuate that Burke is deſtitute both of energy and modulation. I am proud to ſpeak a different language: I do not heſitate to aver, that ſuch affected ſentiments proceed from an inability to bear the luſtre of his eloquence. He who imitates Burke, may be aſſured that his model is marked by Attic excellence; he who hears him with delight, may be ſatisfied that his own progreſs in literature is far from contemptible.

THAT man requires no ſtudied panegyric as to his moral character, whoſe manners are conciliating and agreeable, and whoſe actions are directed by the rules of virtue. But the rectitude and integrity of Burke have been ſo obviouſly conſpicuous, that, defying all ſcrutiny into his own, he may be juſtified in exacting a rigorous account of another's conduct.

THE ſecond character of whom I would ſpeak, has not enjoyed a fortune correſpondent to his integrity or his genius. Great as are his claims to praiſe, our admiration is principally attracted to the firmneſs with which

which he ſupported adverſity; to the dignity which, in the midſt of danger and of difficulty, he preſerved pure and undiminiſhed.

CICERO has remarked, with a degree of truth which experience corroborates, that the moſt momentous changes of circumſtances frequently take place in the ſhorteſt periods of time; both as to affairs of policy and of war, but more particularly in civil contentions; which are not only influenced, but almoſt entirely governed, by fame and by opinion.

LORD NORTH poſſeſſes great natural acuteneſs, which he has improved by art and experience. With conſiderable dignity, he unites thoſe powers of wit which are both agreeable in adorning a narration, and particularly fertile and happy in exciting ridicule. His memory is rich in the knowledge of antiquity, and happy in applying it to his purpoſe. His ſpeeches diſtinguiſh him as an individual moſt amiably reſolved to bear with the infirmities and follies of mankind; and often has his poliſhed urbanity

nity reſtrained the ill-humour and aſperity of others. His ſtyle, though not much ornamented, is certainly not mean; he comprehends a ſubject readily, and explains it with ſucceſs. It is not his ſmalleſt praiſe, that he not only ſays all that is neceſſary to his purpoſe, but that he never ſays more. Upon all occaſions he diſcerns the proper limit, and would rather conclude to avoid exciting tedioufneſs, than hazard the failure of obtaining attention, by ſpeaking too long. Conſidering him as a Civilian, we cannot think him deficient in any one quality neceſſary to form the politician. To theſe accompliſhments of the orator, poſſeſſed from nature, or acquired by diligence, is added, the genuine and the greateſt love of his country, whoſe ancient forms and diſcipline he not only underſtands to admiration, but defends, whenever they become ſubject matter of diſpute, with vigour and with firmneſs.

If we inveſtigate more minutely the character of his mind, we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, that when in poſſeſſion of the higheſt dignity, and oppoſed by a powerful competitor, he conducted himſelf with

the extremeſt moderation. We ſhall find him ſteady in his attachments, placable when offended, ſucceſsful in inſpiring that confidence which he never diſappointed; never uſing his power to the depreſſion of the weak; without the very appearance of criminality; unleſs it be imputed to him, that, in the proſecution of the American war, he did not keep pace with the ardour of public expectation.—That war, originally occaſioned by meaſures in which he had no concern, was undertaken by him with heſitation and reluctance. All reſiſtance being ineffectual, he was impelled to arms—to arms already ſtained with unexpiated blood—by the combined efforts of the Sovereign, the Senate, and the People.

He has left us an impreſſive but melancholy example, how little the remembrance of paſt liberality benefits the generous donor; but how eſſentially noble minds may be injured by incautious credulity, and the imputation of imagined criminality. He poſſeſſes, however, in the ſacred receſſes of his heart, what enables him to ſupport with complacency the heavieſt oppreſſions of calamity. Whenever, with conſcious rectitude, his

his memory dwells on that acrimony of reproach, which has purſued his character; whenever he calls to mind the faithleſſneſs, the ingratitude, of that gaudy tribe, whom he led by the hand to honours and to wealth; he will remember alſo, and exclaim in the language of Lycurgus, 'What manner of 'citizen do you ſuppoſe me to be, who, 'having ſo long conducted public affairs, 'have perhaps given money for the pre-'vention of injuſtice, but never received 'any thing to promote it?'

My third illuſtrious character poſſeſſes a mind great and lofty, and at the ſame time full of candour and ſimplicity; who alone claims the ſingular merit of excelling in every ſpecies of eloquence.

But as on this ſubject there are a variety of ſentiments, both amongſt the vulgar, and amongſt men who have obtained ſome ſmall tincture of learning; I ſhall diſcuſs it ſomewhat more at large, and with all the perſpicuity I am able.

I have ſeen many orators diſcompoſed and diſtracted from their extreme ſolici-

tude in the choice of words*. But the mind of Mr. Fox is ſo continually exerciſed in the contemplation of various ſubjects, that the expreſſions moſt appropriate to each, ſeem to preſent themſelves ſpontaneouſly. He well knows that there is no word without its own peculiar force and propriety; ſo that many which, abſtractedly conſidered, may ſeem mean and vulgar, acquire, from his application of them, conſequence and beauty. If the occaſion demand it, he can at pleaſure adopt ornament, or energy, with every variety of modulation. He has the faculty of expreſſing the moſt difficult things with a certain eaſe and perſpicuity, which does not appear the reſult of previous meditation. Whilſt he ſpeaks, he communicates univerſal animation. Every one who hears him, participates his ſpirit; and is impreſſed, not as by the mere image and repreſentation of things, but as if intereſted by the view of preſent and new-created objects; the qualities therefore of ardour and of energy no one can deny him. Some there are, however, who, from a diſpoſition hard to be ſatisfied, declare that he is en-

* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 10.

tirely

tirely deſtitute of thoſe happier powers of oratory, which ſkilfully ſelect and diſplay the more florid beauties of eloquence; but theſe inferior, though pleaſing ornaments, he avoids from judgment, not from their difficulty of attainment. Thoſe ſentiments which are introduced with propriety, and expreſſed with a force which captivates attention and impreſſes conviction, have, upon recollection or peruſal, an appropriate beauty; not perhaps gaudy or meretricious, but what Cicero admires as genuine and permanent.

Mr. Fox poſſeſſes one admirable diſtinction; he is never known to violate the purity of the Engliſh idiom. Many who, in their attempts to ſhine, introduce foreign expreſſions—and, diſdaining the unaffected language of ſimplicity, acquire a ſtrange and offenſive dialect—are overpowered by his raillery, conveyed in the chaſte terms of his own language. He well knows that the oratory which is obſcure, can never be admired: he knows alſo, that thoſe expreſſions which convey moſt information, have always moſt dignity, and frequently moſt beauty. He is ſenſible, withal, that

the thunder of his eloquence can never be ſucceſsfully employed, unleſs under the direction of a certain regulated force; for which reaſon he ſometimes uſes ſuch full continuity of expreſſion, as ſeems in a manner to diſdain the preciſeneſs of connection, but in reality defies the torture of the ſevereſt criticiſm. Sometimes he ſeparates his ſpeech into minuter ſentences, which have nevertheleſs a certain order and rythm. In theſe inſtances he may be thought negligent, but they excite no prejudice againſt him; they mark a man more ſolicitous to ſatisfy the judgment, than captivate the ear. Yet is he particularly careful not to maim or weaken his ſentences: he never violently inſerts pompous but unmeaning words, to fill up, as it were, ſome cavity. He never fatigues and oppreſſes the attention by vain and idle ornaments; a ſubterfuge which the judgment rejects with all poſſible diſdain. He is conſequently neither diffuſe nor confuſed, neither impotent nor disjointed.

When he is about to conclude, he varies his powers with uncommon dexterity; and is either open, or reſerved, as circumſtance requires.

So

So much has Mr. Fox been benefited by thought, and by experience, that his knowledge appears to extend to every place; and he not only perceives in a moment what is worthy his purſuit, but he diſcerns where it is to be obtained: to which we ſhould add, that he is perfectly familiar with all the forms of law, the ſubtleties of logic, and the application of both. Whenever any ſubject involving them is to be diſcuſſed, we have to admire his genius and ſagacity; he can either explain or diſcuſs them copiouſly, or diſpute minutely and perſpicuouſly concerning them. What is ſeparate and disjointed, he can connect and contract; what is abſtract and obſcure, he can ſcientifically unfold: not with imperfect, unconvincing heſitation; not by the aid of pompous and oſtentatious language; but in a manner prompt, clear, ſatisfactory; and in terms adapted to every judgment, and intelligible to the meaneſt capacity.

If he does not forcibly impreſs his audience at the commencement of his ſpeeches, his ſtrong and varied power, as

he proceeds, progreſſively rouſes and fixes attention. His introductory ſkirmiſhes, if we may ſo term them, are ſo contrived —not for inſulting parade, in imitation of the Samnites, who did not uſe in battle the ſpears which they brandiſhed before—but ſo as to be of the greateſt advantage to his purpoſe, when he appears more particularly anxious after victory. When ſtrenuouſly preſſed, he retreats, not as if he had thrown away, or even dropt his ſhield; but he ſeems wholly collected in himſelf, and merely to be making uſe of a feint, whilſt ſelecting a better ſituation. When his object is to refute his opponents, he accumulates all his powers. Sometimes he applies the more compreſſed weapons of logic, and with their extreme acuteneſs haraſſes thoſe who are moſt verſed and moſt obſtinate in conteſt. Sometimes he expands himſelf, and lets looſe all the reins to that ſpecies of eloquence, which is more diffuſive, more magnificent, and more ſplendid. But all the ſuperior greatneſs of his genius is then apparent, when unreſiſted he takes poſſeſſion of what ſeemed capable of a vigorous defence; when he deſcribes

ſcribes the opinions and manners of mankind; when he applies examples; when he alarms his adverſaries with apprehenſions of the future; when he denounces vengeance againſt crimes, or renders praiſe to virtue; when he paſſes the limits which reſtrain ordinary ſpeakers; when he expreſſes the emotions of ſupplication, of hope, of deteſtation,

THE complacent reſpect of an audience is principally excited by the dignity of the ſpeaker, his actions, and his moral reputation. The great opponent of Mr. Fox, although in this reſpect he poſſeſſes no actual ſuperiority, is yet ſo circumſpect in the regulation of his conduct, as to appear an honeſt, upright, moral character. However this may be, Mr. Fox poſſeſſes all the perfection and wiſdom of eloquence; he never waſtes his time in idle diſputations, but has wholly employed his abilities in the ſtudy of political buſineſs. When he has once ſatisfied his mind about the rectitude of an action, he directs, with vigilance and ſtrict propriety, all the talents of his mind, all the powers of art, to the accompliſh-

ment

ment of his purpoſe; for which reaſon he always appears to me to feel himſelf, with all imaginable force, the impreſſion he endeavours to communicate.

WISDOM, as of all the other arts, is the foundation alſo of eloquence; but the man whoſe ſcientific attainments have received the maturity of experience, will not be retained where the obſcure ſtreamlet of eloquence meanders, but ruſhes forwards to where the full torrent of the tide burſts forth. But Mr. Fox, and in a manner which exceedingly becomes him, frequently aſſumes the humbler part of minuteſt explanation. Whenever he condeſcends to this, he obtains all that he can wiſh; but he can in a moment reſume his dignity, and aſcend, through every gradation, to the height of all which claims admiration. His oratory is at times ſo very rapid, that it appears ſomewhat obſcure, from its extreme acuteneſs and celerity; but it ſtill would not be eaſy to adopt expreſſions more ſignificant, or more full of meaning: yet, in all that he ſays, there is an obvious vigour and beauty, peculiar to himſelf.

himſelf. He ſeems withal to exhibit that artificial ſhade, which makes ſuch beauties more conſpicuouſly obſervable: he poſſeſſes, in common with Demoſthenes, the faculty of keeping his object conſtantly in view, and of impreſſing it, with the wiſhed for effect, on the minds of his audience.

I WOULD wiſh ſuch to underſtand, who have been miſled by erroneous repreſentation, that the very circumſtance which is urged in diminution of Mr. Fox's excellence, is equally a proof of his ſkill and of his genius. His ſentences, if minutely examined, are ſo exquiſite, and ſo profound, that they ſeem rather the reſult of philoſophical inveſtigation, than borrowed from the ſchools of Rhetoric. They are ſometimes confined to diſquiſitions of a perſonal nature; at others, they involve the hiſtory of paſt, or the occurrences of modern times; occaſionally, they comprehend ſubjects of an univerſal nature. The better to excite and fix the attention, he diſpoſes them in various points of view. With infinite ſkill he accommodates his ſpeeches

to

to the different taſtes and prejudices of different hearers: he introduces ſo much novelty, calls to his aid ſuch ſtrong and unexpected arguments, and applies them ſo admirably to the occaſion, that he faſcinates even thoſe who are prejudiced againſt him, or hurries them unreſiſting along with him.

I HAVE before remarked, that the abilities of Mr. Fox are adequate to every poſſible occurrence. But whenever a ſubject preſents itſelf, which claims the full exertion of his talents, he ſtands forth with a kind of luminous activity, and ſhews how vaſt are the powers of eloquence. He then ſeems like a torrent hurrying the mountain rocks before it, and diſdaining all reſtraints of bridges or of banks. This force and celerity in ſpeaking, Eupolis formerly admired in Pericles; and the moſt violent opponents of Mr. Fox hear, confeſs, and are aſtoniſhed.

WHEN I contemplate the unworthy fortune which has attended this moſt exalted character, I am indignant from the memory of

of the paſt, and full of grief from the expectation of the future. He himſelf, however, may proudly claim the public gratitude; for in the midſt of calamity, which menaces the ſecurity of the moſt deſerving citizens, he conſoles himſelf with the conſciouſneſs of integrity, with the fair and undeluding hope, that poſterity will render juſtice to his fame.

I HAVE now to reply to ſome clamorous objections of the vulgar: and even they whoſe general character is marked by a ſpirit of mildneſs—who view the paſſions incident to youth, free from every tincture of aſperity—have exerciſed, on this occaſion, all the malice and ſeverity of dictatorial inſolence.

THIS* is their common and conſtant ſubject of diſcourſe: That they who have been drawn aſide by the allurements of diſſipation, or the ſtream of licentiouſneſs, ought not to aſpire to public honours, and muſt not be entruſted with the conduct of affairs.

* Cicero, pro Sext.

WHAT

WHAT ſhall I ſay? I expect every acrimonious replication; and I know that the general prejudices of my readers, will hardly ſuffer me to expect forgiveneſs. I will not plead the common propenſities of youth, nor the temptations of faſhion: I will even confeſs, that when Mr. Fox firſt entered on the dangerous paths of earlier life, when the blaze of the world firſt burſt upon his inexperienced ſight, he had not reſolution to forego the purſuits, the pleaſures, or, if you pleaſe, the follies, of his companions. I will confeſs that ſuch is the characteriſtic ardour of his ſoul, that whether engaged by the Belles Lettres, the ſtudies of Juriſprudence, luxurious or licentious pleaſures, all his collective faculties were abſorbed, even to ſatiety, by the one individual object before him. I will even go farther; I will allow that his deviation from the right line of diſcretion, was not abrupt or caſual, but precipitate and continued; that he conſumed his patrimony, became the victim of uſurious engagements, and ſullied the luſtre of his rank and birth by vicious indulgences. But theſe delights, falla-

fallaciouſly ſo termed, never detained or obſtructed him for any conſiderable time. He felt a conſcious ſuperiority of talents; the ſtudies of eloquence, at intervals, captivated his fancy; and, with all his indiſcretions, he preſerved a certain dignity of character. We are bold to aſſert, that he was never profligate. The luxurious purſuits which too much attached him, are dignified by Tacitus with the name of elegant; and are eſteemed by Cicero, as ſomewhat appropriate to an ingenuous and liberal character. The intereſts of his country occaſionally employed his thoughts and his activity. Like Petronius, he diſcovered great vigour of mind, great capacity for buſineſs: and, after the example of Mutianus, he proved, that if, in the hours of indolence and retirement, his purſuit of pleaſure was immoderate; yet, when incidents required, he was able to diſplay the luſtre of ſuperior virtues. He had ever the faculty, which he ſtill retains, of conciliating the affections of his friends. From them he always receives the welcome of delight; for, equality of rank, and ſimilarity of purſuits, are ſo far from provoking invi-

invidiouſneſs amongſt men of ingenuous ſentiments, that they never fail to ſecure intereſt and attachment.

HE may juſtly be ranked amongſt thoſe, of whom there are many and eſtimable characters; who, from a youth conſumed in intoxicating pleaſure, have emerged at length, and become deſerving as men, and illuſtrious as citizens. Whilſt employed in the adminiſtration of affairs, all his plans were formed with ſo much diligence and energy, he was ſo vigilant and ſo indefatigable in his purſuit of the public welfare, ſo ready in tranſacting buſineſs, that no ſpirit of jealouſy, or oppoſition, could withhold the praiſe which was alike due to the wiſdom of his councels, and the vigour of his actions.

I MUST now recal the remembrance of my readers to ſome recent affairs, in which the public calamity is involved. When, after a long gloom of continued ill fortune, a brighter proſpect was beginning to unfold; there appeared on the public theatre certain ambitious men, who choſe rather to

to be indebted for elevation in life to contingency of circumſtances, than to virtuous conduct. Such was the extraordinary faſcination of the times, that good citizens were ſilent from neceſſity; and, from the awe of prejudices equally violent and popular, remained in torpid inactivity. But now that loud and vulgar clamour has ſubſided, there can be no reaſon for the farther concealment of our ſentiments upon public meaſures. It is irkſome and it is painful to ſpeak of that mad deluſion, which, attaching itſelf to the paſſions of a reſtleſs public, employed the baſeſt means to remove from their rank and ſtation three ſuch great and illuſtrious characters; a deluſion which thus deprived the commonwealth of its trueſt protection and higheſt ornament. My mind is at this moment oppreſſed with anguiſh, to recollect how the undivided care of the government was entruſted, not to ſuch characters as I have been deſcribing, but to men young, new, and inexperienced; who, confiding in their numbers, took violent poſſeſſion of a citadel erected for the nobleſt purpoſes. That a mean and malignant multitude perſecut-

ed with ſuch inceſſant bitterneſs citizens of known integrity, and ſenators diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom, cannot fail of exciting the wonder of poſterity, as it juſtifies the ridicule of their opponents.

LET thoſe who now, juſtly or otherwiſe, preſide at the head of affairs, enjoy unenvied by me their vain and tranſitory glory. Let them exult and oſtentatiouſly applaud themſelves for their ingenuity, ſuch as it is, exhibiting in pompous trappings what is beautiful in appearance only. To men who judge with freedom, and with the ſpirit of ingenuous pride, they will ſtill appear to have arrived at their honours and their power, naked and defenceleſs; undiſtinguiſhed by the ornamental aids of experience or knowledge.

IN thoſe cauſes, of which every honeſt man would be aſhamed, there are generally ſome ſofter tints of colouring, which may impoſe upon the rude and ignorant. It is no wonder, therefore, that the men of whom I ſpeak, ſteal ſilently away from the feaſt and flow of convivial cheerfulneſs; and offer

offer their devotions to the ſober deities, rather than to Bacchus; ſince hiſtory informs us, that Demoſthenes drank water when he compoſed his Orations*, and that Cæſar was perfectly ſober when he invaded the liberty of his country†. If they have but the applauſe of the multitude, when they enact new laws, or abrogate old ones, they ſeem to imitate the example of the Orator, who, when he was aſked the interpretation of a certain edict, replied, 'Juſt 'what I ſhall think proper.' If they ſecure the popular acclamations by the flowers of eloquence, adulatory language, or pompous declamations in their own praiſe, they aſſuredly labour under the mental infirmity which ſo much diſgraced Cicero. When they make an oſtentatious diſplay of their rhetorical talents, by perplexed and ſophiſtical queſtions, we are led to imagine that they have been initiated in the Socratic diſcipline, whoſe pride it was, 'to make the 'worſe cauſe appear the better.'

If, arrived freſh from the ſchools, they aſſume external manners inconſiſtent with

* Lucian. † Sueton.

the natural mildneſs of youth, we will allow them to have remembered the apophthegm of Plato—'The manners of wiſe rulers 'ſhould be grave and ſolemn, with ſome-'what of ſharpneſs and aſperity.'

NEW as they are to honours, fond of innovations, and forward to make a noiſe about every recent and memorable incident, the old Attic Proverb, purporting their reluctance to forego what they have once poſſeſſed, may be applied to them with peculiar propriety.

IF their power ſeem to diſdain all limit, if the affairs of the people are conducted with much parade of importance, if they ſwell matters of trifling import into great imaginary conſequence, they are ſecure of one reſource in the favourable prejudices of the multitude. 'Every thing perhaps, 'as Homer obſerves, is becoming in a 'youthful character, and all reſpect and 'love him. Having undertaken much, 'though probably nothing of great mo-'ment, they ſay that he is both induſtrious 'and patriotic; if he ſhall chance to at-

'tempt

'tempt actions of a more noble and ſplendid 'nature, they call him generous and mag- 'nanimous. There are alſo ſome incidents 'in which men of but few years expe- 'rience, are deemed worthy of commenda- 'tion, even from their temerity and con- 'tentious ſpirits*.' Having taken upon themſelves various matters, which will hardly admit of juſtification, 'they violently 'force into debate what has in fact nothing 'at all to do with it; ſuch matters, for 'inſtance, as the American war, and what 'is termed the Coalition: and when other 'reſources fail, they fill up the chaſms of 'their eloquence with acrimonious perſo- 'nality. They do not conſider with what 'juſtice theſe are applied: the object is to 'make a diſplay of their abilities, and to 'obtain the praiſe of their audience†.' This bombaſtic ſtyle of reproach, this ſpirit of invidiouſneſs, this ſnappiſh eloquence, as Appius terms it, is by ſome diſguiſed beneath high-ſounding language; who, without any ſenſe of delicacy or propriety, apply to their party theſe words of Pindar;

* Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 793.

† Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 9.

'It is allowable to employ any means of 'diſtreſſing the enemy.'

WITH reſpect to the common people, as they are marked by fickleneſs and perfidy, they may be expected to cheriſh and applaud men of ſimilar qualities: they therefore are of opinion, that the veſſel of the ſtate, haraſſed and torn by the ſevereſt ſtorms, has at length found an harbour of ſecurity. They believe that the tide of public affairs now flows in a gentle and auſpicious courſe. Their wiſhes alſo—though time muſt determine whether they have been aſſented to by any auſpicious deities—yet do they boaſt that all their ſanguine wiſhes have found a proſperous termination. Such intimations have frequently reached our ears: we are not only reluctant in aſſenting to them, but we are accuſtomed, from habit, to weigh all things with deliberation, and to look beyond the preſent moment: and although the popular voice is loud to the extreme in commendation of our Palinurus, I am well aſſured he has given no proofs of ſagacious capacity for buſineſs, or of genuine

and ſolid eloquence. For the man who preſides at the helm of government, other qualifications to us ſeem requiſite, than harmonious and well-turned periods, or than the power of impoſing ſilence on the multitude by the art, or even the dignity, of eloquence. The care of a nation's proſperity and happineſs, is a far more arduous taſk than is commonly imagined: it does not depend upon a fluency of ſpeech, not matured by experience; upon the cant of ſchools, or the arts of meretricious oratory. The requiſitions which to us ſeem eſſential, muſt be collected from various ſciences and laborious ſtudy, which are, as it were, the handmaids of eloquence; but, above all, from profound meditation and continued experience.

He who preſides at the helm of ſtate, ſhould unqueſtionably poſſeſs a lofty name, great ſpecioufneſs of appearance, and dignity of manner; ſo that it ſeems altogether extraordinary that a youthful character, but moderately verſed in juriſprudence, ſhould be able to ſuſtain the weight of ſo reſponſible and important a ſituation. Pin-

dar, who was ſo converſant in every ſpecies of ornamental language, may be ſuffered to ſay of Damophilus, with equal elegance and beauty, 'Young as he was, 'he was as old in prudent counſels as if 'he had reached the period of an hundred 'years.'

It was nevertheleſs, recommended by Tacitus, with a wiſdom which claims applauſe, that young men ſhould be cautiouſly entruſted with premature honours, leaſt they become inſolent and vain; for ſeldom, if ever, does it happen, that we forget the impreſſion of a youthful character, from its being diſtinguiſhed by the mature excellence of virtuous experience. The progreſs indeed of military virtue, as may be expected, is generally rapid. At a very early age the Macedonian Alexander performed the moſt wonderful exploits; Africanus Major and Titus Flaminius extended the limits of the Roman empire, and were elected Conſuls in their riſing youth. But they are in a very different predicament, who, in times of peace, are advanced to the care and the weight of government.

Such

Such characters have generally been found to conſume their talents and ability in conforming to the prejudices of popular levity; and have generally preferred the enjoyment of power uſeleſs in its operation, and the ardours of ambition raſh in itſelf, and deceitful in its conſequences, to the poſſeſſion of true and ſolid glory. They who make objections of this kind to the fame of Lucullus, ſeem to me to argue fallaciouſly. I allow that great man to have been diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendour of moſt ſuperior abilities, which did not require the accuſtomed modes of diſcipline; and that high as was the opinion of his virtue, it was far exceeded by the renown he obtained in military ſervice. His youth was ſpent in the buſineſs of the Forum, and he was a very conſiderable time Quæſtor in Aſia. He was both Quæſtor, Ædile, and Prætor, before he was advanced to the Conſulſhip. His memory of things was ſo wonderfully tenacious, that whatever he heard or ſaw was indelibly engraved upon his mind. He was verſed in every branch of ſcience and philoſophy. He was conſtantly by the ſide of Antiochus, who, in genius

genius and knowledge, was the firſt philoſopher of his time. But of all theſe great and illuſtrious qualities, none, we believe, diſtinguiſh our Palinurus.

IT is reported of Atticus*, that he never became languid in the proſecution of any buſineſs which he had once undertaken: a quality which the Miniſter by no means thought worthy of applauſe in him, who had judiciouſly retreated from the adminiſtration of affairs. He alone has found a new path to fame; he, under his own auſpices, has introduced a new mode of governing a nation. He deſignedly plunges to the moſt profound abyſs, that he may riſe again more beautiful to view. He obtains new powers, and freſh reſolution, from having failed again and again in vaſt and prodigious projects. Without the hopes, or even the talents for victory, he deliberately throws down the gauntlet to men who poſſeſs all the accompliſhments of eloquence, in order to obtain a fictitious triumph by the means of artifice and illuſion. He who aſſumes a kind of pride

* Corn. Nep.

and

and credit to himſelf, when his attempts were fruſtrated by his own want of exertion, or vanquiſhed totally by the power and ſkill of his opponents—what would he have done, or what would he have ſaid, if the ſchemes of policy, which he had planned, had ſucceeded?

THE characters of Politicians and Philoſophers are not, in my opinion, to be decided from any individual circumſtance*, but from the general and conſiſtent tenor of their lives. I mean, therefore, conciſely to review thoſe actions, or thoſe attempts, of the Miniſter, which have received the loudeſt plaudits of his friends.

IN the affairs of Ireland, he diſdained the uſe of lenient meaſures, and the exerciſe of gentler influence. What was the conſequence? He excited diſguſt, and involved himſelf in embarraſſing perplexities.

WITH reſpect to the repreſentation of the people, he ſtrained all the powers of

* Cicero.

his

his genius, and faculties of his mind. Not ſatisfied with the idea of introducing reform, his object ſeemed to be totally to alter the conſtitution of the ſenate. The views of which he thought ſo highly, were rendered ineffectual by a majority of the Houſe: from the very moment of which incident, all his ardour grew cold, all his diligence relaxed. His every hope of healing what ſeemed corrupt in the ſtate, has appeared not only diminiſhed, but abſolutely vaniſhed. In this particular, they whom the name and the form of Liberty tranſport to the extreme bounds of reaſon, complain of his inſincerity; and aſſert that he, the patron, the only ſupport of the cauſe, uſes a language very foreign to his ſecret ſentiments.

As to the *ſaving*, which under the auſpices of our Solon is, they ſay, hereafter to take place in the public revenues, it is a meaſure, to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms, of very doubtful and precarious event.

With regard to thoſe foreign nations, who ſometimes appear to be forming dark and

and dangerous deſigns—at others, openly purſue and avow bold and ambitious meaſures—if any ſudden miſchief burſt upon our heads, the circumſtance will of itſelf unfold what may in the interval elude obſervation. A war would be a ſevere teſt of the Miniſter's ſagacity and foreſight.

THE late Commercial Treaty ſeems, in its firſt aſpect, to bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the one formerly concluded at Utrecht. It may be remarked, perhaps, that nature ſeems to have placed an inſuperable bar to union in divided ſhores, oppoſite fortunes, laws, cuſtoms, and genius. To ſuch arguments, the reply of the Miniſter will be of this kind: 'You have encouraged a 'ſpirit of animoſity againſt this people, 'but they are now inclined to enter into 'engagements of amity with you, and it 'becomes you to indulge ſimilar propenſi-'ties*.'

BUT are we not to drink from ſparkling cups the delicious wines of France, in exchange for Britiſh merchandiſe? Are not

* Ariſtoph.

the

the reconciled citizens of each country to communicate affectionately together, to partake of convivial pleaſures, to laugh and drink together?

THEY who favour this Treaty, indeed the Miniſter himſelf, and all his partiſans, loudly and boiſterouſly contend, that the ambitious ſpirit of the French will now be lulled to repoſe, and we ſhall have nothing hereafter to fear from their arts, or from their perfidy. The name of Peace is, I confeſs, delightful; I would purchaſe it, when ſweet and ſalutary, at any price: but expreſſions of this nature, whether prompted by hoſtile artifice, or the exceſs of virtue, meet not the full aſſent of reaſon. The character of the French is, in my opinion, marked by a luſt of power, and by perfidiouſneſs; when they therefore make ſpontaneous and liberal overtures, my diſtruſt is only the more awakened. I fear leſt War be enveloped in the mantle of Peace.

HAD the father of our Miniſter lived now, he would have reprobated whatever has

has been urged by his deſcendant in this queſtion, as equally baſe to aſſert, and diſgraceful to hear. He would have fulminated his own peculiar eloquence againſt thoſe who had expreſſed an unbecoming dread of the events of war, uncertain in themſelves, and common to all concerned. He would have aſſerted boldly in the ſenate, that it became men like us, of eſtabliſhed character for bravery, to ſhine in virtuous excellence, and not dread the occurrences of fortune.—'Is there any 'news abroad? Can there be a greater 'novelty, than that this man of Macedon 'ſhould domineer over Greeks? That 'Athenians ſhould conſider this Philip as 'one invincible? That Demoſthenes, called 'ſo after his happier father, ſhould ſoothe 'you to indolence, ſhould captivate your 'liſtening ears with fine but empty ſpeeches? 'By Jove this beardleſs boy tames you to 'his will*.'

They who liſten to the ſplendid profeſſions of the Miniſter, and ſee him involved, and, as it were, chained down,

* Demoſthenes.

amidſt

amidſt ſo many and ſuch perplexing projects, may with propriety exclaim, 'Metiochus commands the army, Metiochus ſuperintends the highways, Metiochus bakes our bread, Metiochus bolts the meal; in ſhort, Metiochus does every thing*.' But if he deceive the public expectation; if he appear to have had in view, not the accompliſhment of his purpoſes, ſo much as the exerciſe of his ſpeculative talents; if any unexpected but formidable commotion ſhould take place; if the flame of war ſhould break forth, then will the multitude, in the clamorous language of vexation, again and again exclaim, 'Let Metiochus ſuffer for our miſfortunes.'

I have ſome difficulty in delivering my ſentiments concerning the ſtyle of this young man's eloquence, becauſe there are few adequate judges of the matter itſelf, but a vaſt multitude who are ignorantly devoted to his cauſe. They who are without the faculty of taſte and judgment, are filled with admiration whenever they

* Plutarch.

hear

hear what is beyond the line of their experience, or ſomewhat too refined for their comprehenſion.

THEY, who think deeper than the vulgar, will allow that to be, at beſt, but a popular and plauſible eloquence, which glitters with puerile points; which ſwells with tumid inſignificance; which carries its bombaſt almoſt to phrenzy, and miſtakes the raſh for the ſublime. That ſpecies of eloquence which Hume declared he could conceive in his mind, but never knew to be attained, his partizans appropriate to the Miniſter. This imagined model of perfection they fancy that they lead by the hand:—A young man, with the greateſt acuteneſs of underſtanding, regularly trained in the moſt perfect diſcipline, by no means unacquainted with juriſprudence; who, when he riſes in the ſenate, never fails to charm the ear, and delight the paſſions; who has all the ſplendid ſtores of eloquence perfectly at command; who is copious, elegant, and ſublime.

HAVING taken this opportunity of giv-

ing my ſentiments to the public, I ſhall relate, with unreſerved freedom, what from various and important reaſons I have hitherto concealed. This young man is diſtinguiſhed by an ornamented and florid ſtyle of eloquence, which, as it ſeems altogether transferred to the ſenate from the ſchools of the ſophiſts, offends the ſagacity of ſome, and the dignity of others. He poſſeſſes one faculty, in my opinion his chief recommendation, of ſpeaking with facility on all occaſions. The ancients were accuſtomed to believe this talent could only be the effect, though the honourable effect, of continued induſtry. Whatever is the neceſſity of the occaſion, as ſoon as he riſes, at the very waving of his hand, and motion of his foot, an exuberance of words (like the Pompeian Band, bound to their leader by the ſolemnity of an oath) preſs themſelves forwards with zealous eagerneſs; and very remarkable it is, that whilſt ſpeaking with great variety, and ſtill greater celerity, in all the turns and changes of debate, he is ſo accurate in the choice, and correct in the application of his words, that he never, in the minuteſt inſtance, deviates from

from grammatical preciſion. To which facility it is to be added, that in diſputation he preſerves one uniform tenour, and that regularity which ſeems beſt and moſt properly adapted to the order of his ſentiments, as prompted by the contingence of the occaſion. There is no pauſe nor heſitation in his ſpeaking; he never ſeems to deliberate, even for a moment, as if ſelecting, from two things preſent to his fancy, the one moſt eligible for uſe or for ornament.

THERE are many, however, who do not entirely approve of that rapidity of ſtyle, which is produced by the imagination when warm with new ideas. Yet theſe, nevertheleſs, acknowledge, that if this ſtyle were committed to writing, it could not be made more poliſhed, or more perfect. The application perhaps of unuſual, and of what are termed Attic expreſſions, may be defective in ſtrength, but is ſometimes exceedingly beautiful. It ſometimes alſo happens that a ſentence, however decorated by well-choſen words, carries with it little or no impreſſion; the words themſelves

may be offenſive in their operation upon the ear: and very often the ſpeech to which we have liſtened with attentive pleaſure, appears, when we have the opportunity of examining it at leiſure, weak, trifling, and unconnected.

THE Miniſter's ſtyle of oratory is always ſevere, and ſometimes acrimonious; indeed it is ſometimes neceſſary to make the retaliation his aſperity provokes. At ridicule alſo he makes occaſional attempts, either to prevent the effects of wearineſs and ſatiety on his audience, or probably by way of relaxation to his own genius, naturally of a very different propenſity. But in this reſpect he fails altogether; he is neither pointed, elegant, nor witty; and obviouſly diſcovers that, like Demoſthenes, he is not ſo much averſe to facetiouſneſs, as unſucceſsful in attaining it.

BUT his principal defect is entirely different from any thing I have yet mentioned. As a civilian, in which kind of knowledge it becomes an orator to be particularly accompliſhed, he has no claim

to

to praiſe. He is deſtitute of that ratiocination which is applied by philoſophy to the inveſtigation of human nature and human manners. He poſſeſſes not the impreſſive power of exciting the ardour of the ſoul, and of leaving on the minds of his hearers an energy not eaſily effaced. To obtain *our* applauſe, his ſpeeches ſhould be more compreſſed, and leſs voluble; with greater marks of ſtudy and poliſhed artifice; with a ſpirit of harmony, natural and unaffected, not as it were laboured and conſtrained. If we determine that to be the only genuine eloquence, which at one time rouſes to ardour, at another ſteals upon the ſenſe; which communicates new ideas, and operates to the extinction of inveterate prejudices; the preſent Miniſter is by many degrees diſtant from his father's excellence.

He is by nature vehement and impetuous, and can by no means allow a ſyllable to fall from another's tongue, that is not either agreeable or honourable to himſelf. It is this very circumſtance which induces me to check his preſumption, and

to reſtrain his petulant promptitude of ſpeech by a few queſtions of this nature. To thoſe oſtentatious ornaments, ſo conſpicuous in his ſpeeches, does he add thoſe which are derived from poliſhed erudition—which in youth, a ſtate entitled to every indulgence, we liſten to with praiſe? Does he attend ſufficiently to thoſe events which modern times revere as ſacred? Or is his memory enriched with thoſe ſtories of ancient literature, which are not only delightful to hear, but in illuſtration are conſidered as equally authentic and ſatisfactory? Does he apply thoſe words which breathe and glow, the delight of the ſtudious and the learned, happily to his ſubject, or introduce them in his ſpeeches with effect? Does he communicate any thing uncommonly exquiſite, any thing fully adequate to the expectation of thoſe whoſe learning is extenſive, and whoſe judgments are mature? any thing, in ſhort, to which men of continued experience, or even men of more moderate attainments, can aſcribe the praiſe of originality? Of theſe perfections he poſſeſſes NONE. I am therefore leſs reluctant in allowing him the merit

merit of that eloquence, which is trite and common. I will go farther; I will acknowledge, and it is one perfection of an orator, that he diſcovers marks of conſiderable attention, that he has received ſome benefit from reading. But if, at any time, ſomewhat peculiarly exquiſite has been introduced in his ſpeeches, which has not frequently happened, it is to me ſufficiently obvious that he has drawn it from other ſources than his own.

It is not very long ſince he left with diſdain our inferior courts, as places of drudgery, ill-ſuited to his talents. But what others uſually attain from art, or from habit, we may ſuppoſe him to have received from nature, or from the ſlighteſt application poſſible. Hence it happens, that common phraſes appear floating about an immenſe ocean of words, ſome from Livy, others from Lucan, both well known to ſchool-boys and ſmatterers in learning: ſo that his ſtyle of oratory, upon ſome occaſions, marks the declaimer from the ſchools; at others, the wrangler from the

bar. Let it by no means be imputed to him as a merit, that he never expreſſes alarm about the events of debate, or that he deſpiſes the magnitude and difficulty of the affairs to be conducted, however ſerious and extenſive. Marcus Craſſus made no ſcruple of confeſſing, that, when beginning to ſpeak, he frequently turned pale, was diſcompoſed in his mind, and trembled in every limb. Cicero alſo acknowledges, that whenever the remembrance of the day in which he was to ſpeak occurred, he was not only agitated in his mind, but he ſhewed his agitation outwardly. But no one ever ſaw our preſent Miniſter in the ſmalleſt degree diſordered by fear, or embarraſſed by that ingenuous and lovely modeſty, ſo becoming in the youthful character. There are ſome, I know, who eſteem this an admirable quality*; but, in the opinion of Marcus Craſſus, the beſt and the fineſt ſpeakers may well deſerve the imputation of impudence, if they do not riſe with ſome degree of timidity, and ſhew ſome little embarraſſment at the commencement of their ſpeeches.

* Cicero.

YOUNG men may indeed be expected both to ſpeak more copiouſly, and to uſe more daring expreſſions. But there is nothing in the nature of things which unfolds itſelf all at once, or exhibits in one moment all its conſtituent parts: if therefore the immature brow of the orator be precipitately hardened, if he aſſume raſhly the more obnoxious qualities; what might have been produced and prepared in the beſt part of life, with the happieſt effect, is altogether abaſed. For I would aſk, Are not the ſeeds of arrogance planted? Does not a raſh confidence anticipate the powers of the mind? Does not the orator become tumid, ſelf-conceited, and eloquent, to the injury of the public?

WHETHER Hume was poſſeſſed of that ſagacity, which almoſt claims the appellation of divine, I pretend not to determine; but I well know this is not the character which that philoſopher eſteemed the pride and the ornament of a liſtening ſenate. They who are verſed in theſe things, and who form their judgments with cool deliberation, will, I doubt not, afford me their

their cheerful aſſent, when I declare that the words of Cicero, as applicable to ſome recent affairs, ſeem marked by a prophetic ſpirit. 'When he, who as an orator 'had often been moderate, and ſometimes 'had riſen to excellence, omitting the ſtudy 'of wiſdom, had obtained nothing beyond 'oratorical ability; it happened that, in 'the opinion of the multitude and himſelf, 'he was deemed a proper perſon to guide 'the helm of government*.'

If we ſeriouſly contemplate this young man's character, we ſhall ſee him at one time conceitedly vain of his very abſurdities; at another, in the midſt of difficulties, perplexed and ignorant: and are obliged to confeſs that no individual was ever ſo unlike himſelf. Upon other occaſions he is vehement and irritable, ſcattering his inſolent reproaches around him, and attempting the poſſeſſion of his object by the moſt hoſtile violence. In ſome things he reſembles the character of Lancaſter, as deſcribed by Shakeſpeare's Jolly Knight, whoſe facetiouſneſs and goodly-ſtuffed

* Cic. Rhet.

body,

body, the ſervile companions of him whom we deſcribe, hold in deadly abhorrence. 'This ſame young ſober-blooded boy doth 'not love me: nor a man cannot make 'him laugh; but that's no marvel, he 'drinks no wine. There's never any of 'theſe demure boys come to any proof; 'for thin drink doth ſo overcool their 'blood, and making many fiſh-meals, that 'they fall into a kind of male green ſick-'neſs*.'

THE one day he appears ſo tied down and conſtrained by certain prejudices of ſentiment, that, like the ancient dogmatiſts, he is compelled, that his dignity or firmneſs may not be queſtioned, to vindicate what it is impoſſible he ſhould approve. The morrow perhaps effects a total change in his opinions; and he thinks nothing ſo indiſcreet, ſo unbecoming the gravity of a wiſe man, as to defend with perſeverance what he has not very ſeriouſly inveſtigated. Then again, like the daw, bold and gaudy in its borrowed colours, he ſcruples not to inſult with vulgar contumely

* Henry IV. part ii. act iv. ſc. 7.

the

the ears of them, to whoſe ſagacity he owes whatever is pure and prudent in his counſels.

He has learned from Minucius to conſider him as the firſt character, who is himſelf competent to determine wiſely; the next is he who is obedient to wiſe inſtructors. He therefore takes every poſſible means to make it appear, that he is fully capable of conducting with diſcretion his own concerns, and ſtill not averſe to liſten to advice. It makes, however, a wonderful difference, whether you take from another modeſtly what may be applied to your own advantage, or whether you ſnatch it with indecent violence. When domeſtic reſources are poor and contracted, neceſſity may prompt, and ſomewhat extenuate, an attack upon the property of others. But it is the mark of a mean and invidious diſpoſition, of a mind equally reluctant to yield, and unable by fair and honourable conteſt to obtain the victory, to load thoſe with vindictive reproaches who have been the inſtruments of our benefit*. He who

* Virgil.

does

does not diſdain being inſtructed by an enemy, ſhould at leaſt allow that enemy the merit he deſerves.

IT cannot, however, be denied, that there are ſome amongſt his adverſaries with whom he conſiſtently avoids the encounter. For he fails in obtaining the applauſe even of his friends, whenever he oppoſes himſelf to that man, whoſe talents as an orator, or a diſputant, are ſo eminently great; who penetrates into every ſubject of whatever nature, and underſtands every weapon exerciſed in its defence; who rivals Hyperides and Lyſias in acuteneſs, Menander and Ariſtophanes in wit.

FROM the above character Mr. Pitt, with conſcious inferiority, ſometimes recedes, as if anxious for a pretence to avoid controverſy. When he is unable to do this, he forſakes his ſarcaſtic and twiſted mode of diſputation, and begins to render praiſe to his opponent, in a manner which ſhews how greatly he fears him. It would be ſurpriſing, indeed, if he, and eſpecially a young man, who contends with Sheridan, did

did not throw away his weapons, and ſpare his unavailing powers. The more ſubtle and inveterate diſputants, it becomes either to be ſilent altogether, or to liſten with reſpectful deference; for, to a profound knowledge of affairs, Sheridan unites all the eſſential accompliſhments of the orator. His vein of humour is great and delightful; his erudition is polite, elegant, and extenſive; his quickneſs of apprehenſion, and acuteneſs of reply, are really wonderful; beſides which, he upon all occaſions diſcovers the moſt ingenuous and exquiſite urbanity.

It is believed that an orator, however moderately accompliſhed, if he has any merit at all, can ſecure the attention of his audience. For my part, great as is the crowd of the Miniſter's friends, I have ſeldom met with one who can, in any reſpect, compare with Sheridan. I have among them found ſeveral not defective in ability, but without oratorical ability. The attainments of ſome of them are very ſcanty indeed; their natural talents much more ſo: they are ſo far from being eloquent ſpeakers,

ſpeakers, that they do not merit the appellation of ſpeakers at all. Others of them are obſcure and *new-made* men; becoming orators very ſuddenly, and diſtinguiſhed by their rude vulgarity of ſtyle. We will therefore ſuffer the crowd, the bold Gyas and the bold Cloanthus, to paſs unnoticed, as men who cannot ſpeak with elegance, and are inadequate to the labour of thinking. There are two whom I place in the ſame ſcale with Sheridan; one of whom may be called the leader of the combat, the other is the ſecond part actor.

THE celerity of the Miniſter in *action* is ever ſo prompt and ſo prepared, that nothing can poſſibly be more ſpecious. But Sheridan excels him in acuteneſs, and ſometimes in diligence; always in poignancy and wit.

NEXT to the Miniſter, but with a long interval of diſtance, next to him however, is Grenville; who, unequal, and indeed vanquiſhed in the conteſt, has ſtill carried from it the no mean honour of having contended with Sheridan. This young man has

has a ſufficient ſhare of learning, a prudent and careful conſiderateneſs, and a commendable ſhare of induſtry. But to him, in expediting and perfecting affairs, Sheridan is far ſuperior; and combines, what is very difficult indeed to accompliſh, conciſeneſs with ornament.

THERE may be orators of very great excellence, who differ eſſentially from each other:—We will therefore venture to compare Sheridan with ſome who either reſemble him in ardour, or are united to him by the ties of friendſhip and affection.

EACH of the three characters, of whom I have made frequent mention, is accompliſhed in his own way nearly to perfection; but not one of them poſſeſſes a recommendation which is common to them all—I had almoſt ſaid that Sheridan has attained whatever individually diſtinguiſhes them, and ſupplied what they reſpectively want of perfection. The golden tide of eloquence which Burke pours forth; the urbanity, the eaſy and unſtudied elegance of North; the ſubtlety, the vigour, the variety

riety of Fox—all theſe qualities are conſpicuouſly united in Sheridan.

In the late public cauſe inſtituted againſt a certain Governor, how extenſive were his claims to favour and to fame! With what energy of voice and ſpirit did he attach the attention of his hearers, of all ranks, ages, and parties! In how wonderful a manner did he communicate delight, and incline the moſt reluctant ſpirits to his purpoſe!

To the diſcuſſion of this cauſe he came admirably prepared—all was anxious expectation and attention. From the very beginning he appeared to juſtify impatience. That ſubject, ſo various, complicated, and abſtruſe, he comprehended with preciſion, and explained with ſyſtematic acuteneſs. He placed every argument in that particular point where it had the greateſt energy and effect. Throughout a very long ſpeech he was careful to uſe no imprudent expreſſion, but was manifeſtly and uniformly conſiſtent with himſelf; his ſtyle was dexterouſly adapted to the contingence of the occaſion: in one part

he was copious and ſplendid; in another, more conciſe and pointed, and gave additional poliſh to truth. As he found it neceſſary, he inſtructed, delighted, or agitated his hearers. He appeared to have no other object in view but that of giving the faireſt termination to the buſineſs; to prove the guilt of the accuſed by the moſt indiſputable evidence; and to confirm the object of the inveſtigation by ſtrong and deciſive reaſoning. Then firſt did that *Scot*, audacious as he is, tremble with alarm, and altogether forget his uſual loquacity. But the Miniſter rendered Sheridan the tribute of his ſuffrage; either becauſe he felt the irreſiſtible impreſſion of his eloquence; or choſe to embrace this as the faireſt opportunity of atoning for his former moſt reproachful conduct.

At that time Sheridan diſcovered a ſpirit of wit and humour, not mean and vulgar, but conſiſtent with the pureſt eloquence. His oratory was often rapid and diffuſed, but in no one inſtance crowded or redundant; it was, as contingence required, vehement, indignant, and expreſ-

ſive

ſive of the juſteſt ſorrow: its impreſſion, its ſplendour, its copiouſneſs, and variety, were in all reſpects reſponſible to the greatneſs and dignity of the occaſion.

WITH how great applauſe he was heard by an attentive ſenate, is univerſally known. His moſt determined adverſaries were compelled to render tribute to his excellence. A large portion was added, not merely to his ingenuous and honourable popularity, but to his ſolid and unfading glory. Poſterity will again and again, with renewed delight and wonder, peruſe that compoſition; and, with heartfelt animation, will often apply to him the words of Æſchines, 'Oh that we had heard him!'

THE American War did certainly commence, and was afterwards conducted, under the moſt unhappy auſpices. This has conſtantly been, in the hands of the Miniſter, a moſt tremendous inſtrument of torture, directed againſt the ſecurity and fame of an individual. There have been men who, removed from all danger and alarm, have perſevered in the moſt hoſtile propen-

ſities againſt the ſame character; but to contemplate, without ridicule, incidents which have found admiſſion into our ſenate, requires no ſmall ſtrength of muſcle. Somewhat of the moſt minute importance has been the propoſed ſubject of debate: the choſen band has been aſſembled, and the young men compoſing it, indulged in obſtreperous clamour; all has been noiſy mirth and tumultuous contention. After a while, a certain perſon, in the pride of office, makes his entrance; inſtantly he riſes from his place, and loſing gradual remembrance of the unimportant matter to be diſcuſſed, he begins a terrible ſtory of blood and wounds; talks of Sylla and Marius, of the atrociouſneſs of Punic perfidy, with the loudeſt vehemence of voice and action: he calls heaven and earth to witneſs that the American War was the ſole occaſion of the matter in queſtion, however inſignificant; he contends that, of the American War, Lord North was the one and only cauſe; he calls Lord North the fatal and prodigious miſchief of the ſtate; Lord North, he repeats again and again, is open to the vengeance of the violated laws, has nothing

nothing to hope from the favour of the good, and every thing to fear from the horrors of puniſhment. Whilſt he utters theſe, and other ſentiments of the ſame prepoſterous tenor, with all the energy of affected pathos, the ſenate, become callous from frequent experience, ſits with a kind of patient indifference, which ſeems altogether incredible; whilſt they who, with unfeeling neglect of his ſafety, deſerted Lord North, continue ſilent, or indulge in ſecret ridicule—thoſe very men, who, from the baſeſt principles of avarice, formerly promoted the American War, of their own accord increaſed its ſhameful and horrid conflagration, and with all their hearts and minds preſſed its continuance. Each, trembling for himſelf, was delighted to ſee one object ſingled out for deſtruction. They well knew, the temper of the preſent Miniſter diſdained the purſuit of mean and ignoble game; he was ardent to engage a lion or a mountain boar. He knew that, from the Greek and Roman ſtores, many images, expreſſed by men of illuſtrious genius, deſerved his ſerious thought and careful imitation; he determined (to uſe the language

of Ariſtophanes) to ſhew the indignant rage of Hercules, and to contend with enormous monſters only.

To theſe popular qualities is to be added, it ſeems, which is leſs known and leſs conſpicuous, his knowledge of Greek literature; which, if it be true, conſtitutes one occaſion of amity between us, as having been engaged in ſimilar ſtudies. He, however, placed in ſo elevated a ſtation, has the ſame right which Sylla had to eſteem himſelf happy. Yet I do adviſe and very ſeriouſly exhort him, if he ſhould ever have occaſion to write in Greek, not to imitate Sylla too minutely; let him beware of calling himſelf 'The beloved of Venus *.' I would farther recommend to him, who in his ſpeeches has imitated the ſeverity of Lycurgus, but by no means reſembled him in moral integrity, that he ſuffer time and experience to ſoften his aſperity. Let him learn from Cicero to avoid uſing reproaches, the ſting of which refuſes to be

* Sylla, in all his anſwers and addreſſes to the ſtates of Greece, called himſelf *Epaphroditus*, or, 'The Be-'loved of Venus.' T.

healed;

healed; let him aim at his adverſaries only, nor ſhould he wound them indiſcriminately, and upon every occaſion; let him uſe delicacy towards the dignity of others, as the ſureſt means of preſerving his own; let him learn from Quintilian that thoſe expreſſions, which in the warmth of ſpeaking appear bold and manly, are eſteemed fooliſh when they communicate injury; let him remember that the gratification of that man is baſe and inhuman, who, to excite ridicule, deſcends to abuſe, and accommodating himſelf to the diſpoſition of his hearers, loſes the value of an upright character, by becoming a noiſy and boiſterous wrangler; above all, let him bear in mind that the character of the man is marked by the language of the ſpeaker; that the evil ſpeaker differs but in opportunity from the evil doer.

I AM well aſſured that what was formerly ſaid of Fimbria, will be applied to me, on the preſent occaſion, in objection to my ſentiments: 'His oratory was thought 'auſtere and malignant, and in every re-'ſpect much too bold; but his integrity of

'mind, and rectitude of life, ſecured him 'authority in the ſenate*.' I am obliged, although it is with extreme uneaſineſs, to confeſs, that the Miniſter conſtantly obtains the confidence of his hearers, and poſſeſſes the approbation of the people, who ſo vehemently admire the eloquence which he has always at hand, that they forbear to ſcrutinize his imperfections. The reaſon of this, to every more curious enquirer, will be ſufficiently obvious: I ſhall deliver my ſentiments on the ſubject, but with ſome degree of caution.

THE common people have always one particular favourite, to whom they in a manner entirely devote themſelves; they receive him to their embraces and their boſom with all the fondneſs of the moſt paſſionate attachment; they will, to a man, bear ſolemn teſtimony to his honeſty and innocence†, though not one amongſt them can,

* Cicero's Brutus.

† Whoſe honeſty they all durſt ſwear for,
Though not a man of them knew wherefore.
HUDIBRAS.

by

by any appearance of reaſon, vindicate their prejudice in his favour.

THE Miniſter does not want the ſagacity to perceive, that the common people are a kind of pipe, which it becomes an orator to fill with his breath; for which reaſon, in a manner the diſcovery of which is peculiarly his own, he uſes the inſtrument to the common delight of the vulgar and himſelf. The muſic which it moſt delighted Themiſtocles to hear*, the Miniſter thinks is moſt effectually compoſed by his own powers of voice, when he is full of admiration of himſelf, and oſtentatiouſly pronounces a panegyric on his own virtues. Hence it is, that when he elevates his voice ſo as to rend the very ſkies, upon matters immaterial in their conſequences, and contemptible in themſelves, he inſiſts upon the moſt unreſerved deference. Every opinion which is delivered in contradiction to his will, provokes his indignation, as if there

* When Themiſtocles was aſked, to what muſic he liſtened with the greateſt pleaſure? 'To the voice 'of him,' he replied, 'who beſt ſounds the praiſe of 'my meritorious actions.' T.

were

were no alternative betwixt undeſerved and unſeaſonable adulation, and the aſperity of reproachful language. Hence it is, that the freedom of ſpeech, which in the greateſt characters amongſt us has been the reſult of the ſublimeſt accompliſhments, he thinks is neceſſarily attached to his character, ſo as to juſtify his very rudeneſs, in oppoſition to the forms which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed. One thing I am about to mention, ſo exceedingly ridiculous, that it ſeems a kind of prodigy. Clodius* proclaims aloud, that the ſplendour of the Miniſter's purity is ſo great and glaring, that it dazzles and confounds his powers of ſight. Thoſe axioms of voluptuouſneſs, ſo flattering to the ſenſual propenſities, he has at length learned to deſpiſe and avoid. Nothing, he thinks, is ſo charming, nothing ſo beautiful, nothing ſo amiable, as virtue! He declares that he has found the individual, whoſe eyes beauty cannot faſcinate, whoſe ears melody cannot allure; the uniform tenour of whoſe life is ſpent in bodily fatigue, and mental exerciſe. This chaſte and hallowed conſtellation was reſerved till

* A city officer.

now,

now, to irradiate the firmament in honour of a George's reign.

SUCH ſentiments, from the lips of Clodius, are conſiſtent and becoming. There are others who believe the Miniſter rather diſtinguiſhed by the abſence of vices, than the actual poſſeſſion of virtues. On this head I have always thought it adviſeable to imitate the prudence and moderation of Fimbria. For which reaſon, I have never ſpoken deciſively on the moral conduct of the Miniſter, that I might not by any expreſſions of diſapprobation injure a character eventually meritorious; and I was equally cautious not to pronounce him an excellent citizen, in whom I thought many official duties, and eſſential claims to praiſe, manifeſtly wanting. I have been in the ſame manner free to confeſs, that there were many things, even in Mr. Fox, which the mildeſt nature might with propriety reprehend. Notwithſtanding which, nature has certainly beſtowed on Mr. Fox the principles of a great and exalted character, and peculiarly formed him for the exerciſe of juſtice, activity, friendſhip, the virtues of private

private life, and the adminiſtration of public affairs.

WHEN the people had committed the unreſerved direction of themſelves to the Miniſter, affairs were carried on, we will not ſay ſucceſsfully, but with a kind of exultation. It may probably be of ſome advantage to examine thoſe incidents ſomewhat more minutely, which, however trifling in appearance, are frequently in their effects of the moſt ſerious importance. Our fellow-citizens may eſteem it a teſtimony of their good fortune, that thoſe actions, of which they have been the recent inſtruments, cannot be conſidered as if deſtitute of deliberation or of method. Whilſt the predicament in which they themſelves were placed, had neither the ſubſtance nor the image of truth, they required (which was a proof either of extreme ſubtlety, or the moſt prepoſterous folly)—they required, however, the teſt of ridicule to be applied, as the touchſtone of truth, to the cauſe of their opponents. Not that we can conſider them as at all verſed in that ſpecies of philoſophy which Shafteſbury cultivated; but, in obedience

obedience to the ſuggeſtions of all-powerful nature, they exerciſed the weapons in which they peculiarly excelled, to the terror, as well as injury, of individuals far more deſerving and more accompliſhed than themſelves. We often call thoſe times to our remembrance, when they, who were very inadequate judges of the delicate predicament of public affairs, could feed their wondering eyes, and fickle ſpirits, by gazing at trifling pictures. When they viewed, as their opponent, ſuch a man as Pericles, marked by a trifling imperfection, they called to their aid ſome Pauſon, ſome Bupalus*, or a certain perſon great in ſkill, but miſtaken in his attachments, whoſe name, not to be expreſſed in Engliſh, is by the Greeks called *Stephanus*.

THEY were, in all reſpects, equal to the work they had undertaken. By certain drawings†, full of ſtrong and malignant alluſions, they effected that which has been related of Cleander, whoſe ſarcaſtic wit and ridicule alone, removed a certain go-

* Grecian painters of caricature.

† Alluding to Mr. Sayer's performances. T.

vernor

vernor from the adminiſtration of Egypt, who had really been guilty of no crime.

THERE were not wanting thoſe of the oppoſite party*, who, by way of reply, invoked the aſſiſtance of the ſatiric muſe, and applied their Iambic meaſures with a force and acuteneſs, which the poet Hipponax himſelf would not have diſdained.

IT were however to be wiſhed that a picture might be painted, the object of which ſhould not be ſelf-vindication, but honourable reſentment; reſembling that, by the means of which Apelles (for we are upon a ſubject in which we need not be aſhamed to introduce Grecian tales) preſerved himſelf from ruin, when the falſe accuſations of Antiphilus had vehemently incenſed King Ptolemy againſt him†.

IT

* The writers of the Rolliad.

† The picture of Apelles, alluded to above, is thus deſcribed by Lucian:

'On the right hand ſat a man, having very large 'ears, reſembling thoſe of Midas, extending his 'hand towards a perſonage at ſome little diſtance, 'repre-

If this cannot be done, we would recommend ſome other performance, in which the greateſt poſſible ſkill ſhould be exerted to render it fully adequate to its object. In things of this kind it frequently happens, that the effect of the ridicule is not ſo great as the occaſion which provokes it. It is, however, very well known, that the diſtinguiſhed character, marked in the performance to which we allude, does not upon every occaſion coincide with the

'repreſenting Calumny. On each ſide of him were 'two women, Ignorance and Suſpicion. Calumny 'was painted exceedingly fair, but very artful, and 'with great appearance of furious reſentment. In 'her left hand ſhe held a torch; her right was twiſted 'in the hair of a youth, in the attitude and geſture 'of ſupplication. Before her ſtalked a deformed 'man, with a pallid countenance, as if afflicted 'with a grievous diſeaſe: he was eaſily known to be 'Envy. Two other perſonages ſeemed, as they fol-'lowed, to be encouraging and ornamenting Calum-'ny: one was Inſidiouſneſs, the other Falſehood. 'Behind, with a ſlow ſtep, Penitence advanced, in a 'habit of mourning, torn and defiled: ſhe frequently 'looked back with tears, and with every mark of 'contrition, at Truth, who was approaching from a 'diſtant part of the ſcene.—Such was the picture 'by which Apelles repreſented his own dangerous 'ſituation.'

Miniſter

Miniſter in ſentiment. This indeed may, at the preſent day, be ſaid of almoſt every individual amongſt us, who is diſtinguiſhed above his fellow-citizens by experience or ingenuity, by the more ingenuous and ornamental accompliſhments. To men of this deſcription, it is almoſt impoſſible to ſay how very dear and ſacred that cauſe is, which has proved unſucceſsful. This ſtill retains a conſpicuous ſuperiority, notwithſtanding they who ſupport the oppoſite party are far more numerous, and always advance to the conteſt in one united body, with all the parade and pride of military diſcipline.

THINGS being thus ſituated, whatever diſgrace accompanies defeat, they are very well able to bear; to whom may be applied what Zeno formerly ſaid to the crowd of ſcholars who attended Theophraſtus—* 'His dancers are more numerous, but mine 'keep better time.'

THE objects of their attachment are certainly dearer to themſelves, and more honourable in appearance, as being not at all

* Plutarch.

ſubject

ſubject to the influence either of hope or fear.

We ought by no means to wonder, that the people ſhould diſcover an inclination to make attacks on the fame and fortunes of the worthieſt citizens. That the opportunity occurred of doing this with impunity, does not to us afford an occaſion of envy. As we are in the habits of delivering our ſentiments with freedom, inſtead of calling in queſtion the privileges of the people, we do not heſitate to avow, that their ſuffrages ſhould be free from all controlment, that they ſhould at pleaſure give and retract their marks of approbation. Yet are we compelled to aſſert, with the plainneſs and with the energy of truth, that they frequently treat the moſt deſerving with neglect—frequently view thoſe actions with diſdain, which have proceeded from the nobleſt motives; that their ſuffrages have often been obtained by no more honourable means than a compliance with their humours; and that, in beſtowing theſe, their affections or reſentments have been more conſpicuous than their judg-

ment. Upon occaſions of no vaſt moment, every wiſe man will bear with equanimity the meaſures he is unable to approve: but in thoſe tempeſtuous perturbations of the ſtate, of which we have lately been ſpectators, temerity and violence univerſally prevailed. If any one ſhall chuſe to call them by ſofter appellations, it ſtill muſt be confeſſed, they can only be ſupported becauſe they cannot be entirely obliterated. Theſe irritable parts we touch with a delicate and trembling hand; but the influence of paſt incidents can neither be corrected nor amended, unleſs the incidents themſelves be pointed out to cenſure. All thoſe things which recently have happened, may again and again be repeated; and what now excites, by its example, aſtoniſhment and alarm, may hereafter be eſtabliſhed as a precedent, if that iniquity, which has ſucceeded in defiance of all juſtice, ſhould in future provoke a ſpirit of imitation.

When things of the moſt ſerious importance are agitated, every moſt prudent individual will think it not ſo much incumbent upon him to enumerate the popular ſuffrages,

ſuffrages, as to eſtimate their real value. He will prove the firmneſs of his mind in deſpiſing the whiſperings of rumour. He will exert the utmoſt of his ability, not to obtain popularity, but to mark his attachment to merit and to virtue. He will liſten with complacency and attention to thoſe; and thoſe alone, who have ſagacity to examine, to read, and to know the manners and paſſions of mankind, amidſt all the diſguiſes and labyrinths of language. He muſt have known many things, which, at one time thought doubtful and dangerous, have at another met with honour and reward. He muſt have known that men, raſh and ignorant, have been alarmed by fallacious repreſentations; and, deciding with precipitateneſs on matters of the higheſt moment, have been impelled to the moſt dangerous enterprizes. He muſt have obſerved, in the viciſſitudes of government, that whilſt his own cauſe has had truth for its baſis, the cauſe of his opponents has been ſupported by the prejudices of the people, and all the parade of eloquence. He muſt have ſeen things, honourable in their ſource, terminate in the moſt diſaſtrous cataſtrophe,

when oppoſed by the tide of popular inclination. Revolving all theſe circumſtances with himſelf, and applying them to the above-mentioned tumultuous occurrences, he will be led to doubt whether they are more nefarious in themſelves, or alarming by their conſequences. He will lament the infirmity of our nature, more prone to admit the evil than its remedy; and will remark with regret how difficult it is to limit the influence of example. He who does this will frequently have in mind the ſaying of Polybius, 'The people in themſelves poſſeſs an unlimited power; which being the caſe, the government will bear the appearance of liberty, and its faireſt title, a Democracy. But it will, in reality, be expoſed to the worſt of evils, the caprice of a domineering multitude.' What this grave and ſenſible writer obſerved—'That the ſource of every change for the worſe, was the ambitious purſuit of honours, whether it ended in ſucceſs or diſappointment'—has certainly been true with reſpect to an undertaking, great in itſelf, and promiſing in its aſpect.

IT is ſufficiently obvious, that many things which are at firſt denied commendation, become very beneficial in their conſequences.

IN the number of theſe, we muſt place that law which was propoſed by a certain illuſtrious character, relative to the affairs of India, but which was ſet aſide by the Houſe of Peers in the moſt diſhonourable manner. It is impoſſible to be ignorant how verſatile and precarious are the ſentiments of mankind; how powerful is the breath of rumour, and the tide of popular aſſemblies; all of which, they who have the ear of the people, are careful to collect and convert to their purpoſe. For theſe reaſons, whenever it is thought neceſſary to introduce any innovation, I deem it adviſeable to pay ſome regard to the temper of the times; and to comply, in certain inſtances, with the prejudices of the people. To thoſe who are vehemently angry with Mr. Fox, for propoſing ſome novel experiments in a buſineſs, and on an occaſion, altogether without precedent—I anſwer, in the words of Canuleius, 'Will no circum-

'ſtances juſtify innovations? and muſt thoſe 'things, which have utility for their ob-'ject, not be done, becauſe they never have 'been done before*?'

But by what principles of equity was that law ſupported? Upon thoſe which religion itſelf will vindicate: for whatever is ſalutary to the commonwealth, ſhould be eſteemed both juſt and lawful.

It is the part of an ingenuous man, of a man conſcientious in the diſcharge of his duty, to purſue thoſe meaſures which have the approbation of the virtuous, although attended with danger; rather than thoſe which, though more ſecure in themſelves, and more applauded by the multitude, promiſe leſs of eventual advantage.

It is ordained by nature, that they who addreſs themſelves to the favour of the multitude, generally ſecure it; whilſt thoſe who are endowed with greater wiſdom, are often liſtened to with diſapprobation and reluctance. In that great change of things to

* Livy.

which

which we allude, we cannot but acknowledge, that the occaſion of exciting odium preſented itſelf. Yet am I well aſſured, that they who wiſhed to counteract the dangerous tendency of Aſiatic wealth, and the exerciſe of exorbitant power, conſulted both for the good and the glory of their countrymen. We may ſafely apply to them the words of Claudius, 'That although they 'acted in oppoſition to popular prejudices, 'neither their words nor their actions were 'inimical to the public utility*.

SUCH as are deſirous to overwhelm Mr. Fox with a torrent of invidious and reproachful language, boiſterouſly declare that the people of England aſſerted a becoming dignity, in repelling the injury intended them, and in fruſtrating the deteſtable attempts of an individual, to obtain enormous and kingly power. Let not the kingly title hereafter be applied to Mr. Fox, unleſs he be thought to merit that diſtinction, from delivering his ſentiments with manly freedom in the great aſſembly of the nation; from his deeming it mean and contempti-

* Livy.

ble, to be the ſervile inſtrument of any individual, or of any party; from his conſulting the general intereſts of the people, without accommodating himſelf to all their caprices; from his not ſtooping to men of greater influence, but of leſs integrity than himſelf; from his reſiſting their nefarious deſigns and unparalleled audacity.

If there be any who eſteem the injurious inſults offered to that venerable body, of ſmall or of no importance, let ſuch be reminded, 'That in the vigilant attention 'to ſimilar incidents, our anceſtors laid the 'foundation of their country's glory*.'

It is not conſiſtent with our preſent purpoſe, to inveſtigate the ſentiments of thoſe who expreſs a wonderful anxiety for the due preſervation of the royal prerogative. I have frequently ſuſpected, that they who, on this ſubject, have tormented themſelves and others, with ſuch ſad and terrific images, have not ſo much been deluded by their own want of ſagacity, as obſtructed in the acceſſes to truth, by perſonal malignity and

* Livy.

envy.

envy. The generality of their aſſertions ſeemed not, in my opinion, to require the ſerious energy of pointed argumentation; but to be attacked with the greateſt ſucceſs by eaſy and good-humoured ridicule. Whatever force ſuch cavillings received from the ſemblance of reaſoning, or the acrimony of reproach, was effectually repelled in that ſpeech of Mr. Burke's, which, in the opinion of all men competent to decide upon political queſtions, could admit of no improvement, and required no emendation.

WHOEVER, with attentive diligence, has peruſed the compoſition to which I allude, will feel his warmeſt indignation excited againſt thoſe expreſſions, which a certain Mr. Wilberforce lately uſed in the ſenate, with peculiar aſperity and inſolence; which the Miniſter, with clamorous and unhallowed voice, repeated; and which the crowd of his weak and credulous followers liſtened to with rude delight and abſurdeſt acquieſcence.

DESTITUTE of every ſenſe of ſhame, they did not heſitate to declare, that the vigour

vigour of Burke was no more, or had degenerated into ſecond childhood. It may perhaps be conceded, that the occaſion did not demand his accuſtomed neatneſs of ſtyle, or harmony of expreſſion. And yet did not that ſpeech ſeem rather diſtinguiſhed by the ſilvery honours and maturity of experience? But when I grant that there were any marks or teſtimonies of old age, let thoſe wranglers bear in mind, 'I can only mean the 'venerable age of another Homer*.'

THAT the infirmities of nature will appear, when our ſpirits are haraſſed, and our indignation provoked, may be confeſſed without any reluctance. But the great cauſe in queſtion we have purſued to the beſt of our abilities, through the various intricacies of law, and all the labyrinths which lead to truth. It appeared to us to have no one quality injurious to virtue, no one object detrimental to the ſtate. With how much greater ſucceſs the preſent Miniſter will conduct the affairs of India, muſt be determined by the event. The event alone can ſhew, whether his meaſures, how-

* Longinus.

ever

ever ſpecious in appearance, may juſtly be preferred to thoſe which promiſed to be more eventually uſeful. That law, which has at leaſt our approbation, was but very partially underſtood—was but little examined by thoſe who reprobated it with extremeſt violence; who inveighed againſt its authors, not with inſolence alone (for that is no uncommon failing), but with an unfeeling rudeneſs altogether without precedent.

I AM not to learn the ſeverity of invective, aimed at what is termed the Coalition. It is one thing to uſe reproachful language; to ſupport an accuſation, is another. This office of pouring out abuſe can be entitled to no man's praiſe, but I am exceedingly aſtoniſhed that the Miniſter ſhould be the perſon to undertake it; it was neither becoming in itſelf, nor conſiſtent with his age. Nevertheleſs, young as he was, he condeſcended, on this occaſion, to diſplay all the powers of his eloquence; and it muſt be confeſſed, that although ſupported by men not eaſily abaſhed, not one of them all could have haſtened with more alacrity

to

to the attack, or ſupported the conteſt with more characteriſtic ardour and pertinacity.

I, for my part, am well aſſured, that thoſe characters whom he laſhed with all the ſeverity of his father's manner, and all the acuteneſs of the Cenſorian ſtyle, never in imagination thought of injuring the commonwealth. They were not only able to vindicate their conduct, but they had many claims to commendation. Whatever has been objected to the Coalition, and however frequently this has been echoed by the tongues of unprincipled men, it will never make an impreſſion, either on Fox or North, forcible enough to make them repent of having buried their former enmities in oblivion. If their ſentiments have in ſome inſtances ſubmitted to change, they ſtill defy the imputation of inconſtancy. When the ſtate had in a manner expired, from the oppreſſion of a calamitous and fatal war, they conſidered, with the cool deliberation of reaſon, not only what was expedient for the public good, but what was moſt becoming and honourable for themſelves,

ſelves. They were of opinion, the wounds of that war could then alone be healed, when a ſolid, conſiſtent union of all the virtuous could be effected, even by violent means, from the various ſentiments and prejudices of a divided, a diſtracted nation. They exerted themſelves to lay the foundation of domeſtic tranquillity. They followed the example of the Athenians of old; and determined that the very remembrance of ancient enmities ſhould be buried in eternal oblivion. They failed in their object, not from any depravity of their own, but from their own ideas of their duty, and the particular predicament of the ſtate. They purſued the conduct by which Æmilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus formerly obtained univerſal praiſe. One thing alone gives me the moſt ſerious and painful concern, that they did not imitate the conduct of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides; that a patriotic principle did not, during the progreſs of the war, conciliate and unite them together.

ENMITIES have been formed which would admit of juſtification, even with citizens

tizens of deſerving character: but having ſeen theſe conſigned to oblivion, I could not imagine that any individual, attached to the intereſts of his country, could, unprovoked, indulge an inimical ſpirit againſt Mr. Fox, whoſe patriotic principles had been ſufficiently conſpicuous. The event diſappointed my expectations. The Miniſter ſeems to think, that to ſtand forth as an accuſer, is neither hazardous in itſelf, nor injurious to his fame. He does not think it at all prejudicial to his dignity, to indulge the natural acrimony of his temper in the exerciſe of his high office. Others there have been, who have conſulted the delicate predicament of the times, and his unconciliating temper—'Does this, O Tu-'bero, ſeem ſo heinouſly criminal*?' If this be the caſe, I aver that ſuch an imputation alike partakes of petulance and injuſtice, particularly when aimed at individuals engaged in a far nobler cauſe. Such is my opinion; nor can the Miniſter himſelf aſſert that his motives of conduct flow from a purer ſource, when he reflects on thoſe who favour and ſupport him.

* Cicero.

I AM

I AM proud to contend, that the cauſe I vindicate merits in itſelf no rude, no coarſe appellations; but they are leaſt of all becoming from your lips. Are you apprehenſive that you ſhould ever be ſuſpected of the atrocious crime of forgetting injuries? How vain ſuch fears! No one will ever attach to your character ſo much gentleneſs of temper, or magnanimity of ſoul. It is not in your nature to deſerve well of your country, by reſtraining the emotions of anger or of hatred. You have introduced, in ſelf-vindication, and ſupport the hallowed name of Majeſty; but do not therefore imagine that your adverſaries muſt neceſſarily pay humble and obſequious deference to your authority. Your words, tumid and ſounding as they are, will be diſdained by thoſe who can thoroughly develope the characters of yourſelf and your confederates. Very little reflection upon this ſubject muſt ſatisfy the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, that no laſting unanimity can be expected from minds ſo variouſly tempered, or from views ſo contradictory to each other.

THEY who carefully explore the receſſes of your mind, will eaſily ſee, that to follow with

with impunity the impulſe of the will, is your definition of the regal power.

He who reſts his judgment on the fallacious deciſions of the multitude, or the opinions of the ignorant, can never be deemed an exalted character; his concluſions can never be fixed and determinate, even for the ſhorteſt period of time. They who, like the prophetic birds of Pſaphon, believe the fortune of the Miniſter to be conſiſtent, permanent, and appropriate, ſpeak a very different language. I would wiſh ſuch perſons candidly to examine with me the particular ſituation of public affairs, and what various ſentiments are entertained concerning the great idol of their praiſe.

If the more temperate of our countrymen either hear with reluctance, or diſdain to yield, the tribute of adulation which is expected, there is always at hand ſome time-ſerving follower of the Miniſter, to ſoothe and to flatter the multitude.

The arguments by which the deluſion is enforced, are of this kind: 'Let us not waſte 'our breath in needleſs argumentation; let us

'us not determine what they ought to do. 'Suffer them to rule in peace; being well 'aſſured of this, which is all that is neceſ-'ſary, that they are attached to the King, 'and will not forget their friends. Leave 'the reſt to fate: follow my advice, and 'make yourſelves happy.'

THEY who are biaſſed by motives of intereſt alone, bluſh not to continue in the ſentiment which they have deliberately ſold at a certain and rated value. Others there are who, having once avowed an attachment, ſuperſtitiouſly bind themſelves to what they deem a ſacred obligation. They who have taught themſelves to believe, that, wherever political influence prevails, a certain degree of deference ſhould follow—acknowledge, much to their diſhonour, that his youth and his virtues ſufficiently juſtify both their preſent confidence and their future hopes. Of many others, the mental exertions have ſubſided; not from any negligence of temper, but from concert and deſign: theſe acknowledge very frankly, that they can diſcern where their confidence ought not to be placed, but cannot diſcover

thoſe whoſe principles deſerve it. They obſerve, 'That thoſe who have the care of 'the government are indiſputably bad: if 'any one of them does one good action by 'chance, he will probably do ten bad ones 'by deſign: if you change them, the 'change will, in all likelihood, be for the 'worſe *.'

OTHERS apply to the Miniſter what Tacitus has ſaid of Galba—'That, if he 'had not actually conducted the helm of 'government, the unanimous conſent of 'the public would have thought him qua-'lified to do ſo.' With reſpect to ſome, when the murmurs of applauſe, excited amongſt his friends by his oſtentatious eloquence, have died gradually away, 'truth 'and merit have re-aſſumed their powers, 'and become too ſtrong for empty adula-'tion †:' they have weighed his actions in the ſame balance with his words, have penetrated the mazes of his mind, and beheld him at length ſtripped of all his ſuppoſititious aids and coverings of diſſimulation.

* Ariſtophanes. † Quintilian.

MEN

MEN of real dignity and conſequence ſee, with equal aſtoniſhment and indignation, many obtruded amongſt them, of no hereditary claims or intrinſic merit. In the Lower Houſe, ſuch ſenators as are more illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed, cannot, without ſecret murmurs of regret, obſerve the ſuffrages of the people, however conſtitutionally exerted, place certain individuals amongſt them: many of them Aſiatic plunderers, exulting in their ill-gotten affluence: others, men of mean and low extraction, totally ignorant and unpoliſhed; in favour of whom the old Roman edict ſhould be revived—'In the name of God, ſhew 'my Lord, the new ſenator, his way to the 'ſenate-houſe.' Whilſt they whoſe reflections are ſerious, and concluſions juſt, are filled with honeſt indignation at the idea of being ſubſervient to loquacious youths; and that they who have but a mere ſmattering of knowledge, ſhould be dreaded as ſuperiors. They are inclined to remember what was the exclamation of the Epheſians on their expelling Hermodorus from their city—'Amongſt us there muſt be an entire 'equality: whoever prides himſelf on ſupe-

'rior excellence, let him chooſe his reſi-'dence elſewhere *.'

WITH reſpect to the multitude in general, it is ſufficiently notorious, that, ſwayed by their attention to the voice of rumour, they determine upon precipitate but momentous projects, of which they as haſtily repent: their attachments are conſequently precarious and inexplicable; and the ſofteſt whiſperings of fame will ſometimes produce an entire change in their opinions. They are incautious and negligent as to the reſult of their determinations; and, after having acted with deciſion, they are unable to explain the motives of their conduct. Such, therefore, who long ſince caught the infection, and were influenced by its rage, do not, at the preſent day, know the extent of their former infatuation. A conſtant and ever-varying fluctuation of ſentiment muſt infallibly diſtinguiſh thoſe, who pay greater attention to the approbation of men than to the intereſts of the ſtate. Such is the diſpoſition of theſe characters, that, the more deliberate and reluctant their firſt

* Cicero.

commence-

commencement of enmities is, ſo much the more pertinacious is their ſubſequent aſperity. From theſe reaſons we are led to conclude, that the authority lately entruſted to the preſent Miniſter, great as it may ſeem, carries in its own boſom the ſeeds of its unavoidable diſſolution: let him therefore beware how he exert his power beyond the limits of diſcretion, whenever he enters upon meaſures of importance, without ſufficiently attending to their conſequences: let him beware leſt his inexperience involve him in the mazes of fallacy, ſo as to prevent his extricating himſelf without injury, whenever he ſhall hereafter be more prudently diſpoſed. Let him be cautious, that, when he lays aſide his dignity, he be not obliged to exclaim, in the language given to Demetrius by Æſchylus, 'Thou, who haſt exalted me, art the occa-'ſion of my ruin.'

In reply to theſe our admonitions, the Miniſter will probably aſſert, that thoſe honours which the deliberate applauſes of the people confer upon an individual, are the rewards of virtuous conduct; and that

whoever has their favourable prejudices and ſuffrages, may be ſatisfied with himſelf, and merits all that he enjoys.—I am juſtified in denying my aſſent to this, by the authority of Quintus Cicero, who took occaſion, from the repeated and ſudden ruin of the moſt illuſtrious Romans, to entreat his brother to withdraw himſelf from ſcenes of tumult and contention. I am farther juſtified, from having ſeen men of profligate characters attain the higheſt dignity, to whom opportunity has not been more favourable than the partial voice of their fellow-citizens. And theſe my ſentiments are ſtill more corroborated by various arguments to be found in a multitude of books, in the opinions of the wiſe, and the examples of antiquity.

GREAT and loud has been the clamour excited by the American War. The vicious ſource from which it firſt originated, has been little examined, and leſs underſtood. On the ſubject of this calamity too much is ſaid, but not all that is eſſential. Amongſt the numerous promoters of that war, one individual is ſingled out, and perſecuted

ſecuted with all the temerity of hatred and anger; which when the uncandid can do with impunity, they are ſatisfied with ſeeing how much clamour can effect, and believe they have properly diſcharged their duty as citizens. There are others who have experienced ſerious alarm from the exerciſe of that branch of the prerogative, which is ſaid to have been ſomewhat too prodigal in heaping money and affluence upon men of the loweſt eſtimation. But whenever I ſeriouſly deliberate with myſelf concerning the probable cauſes of theſe events which have recently happened, I am inclined to impute to another ſource the evils which have injured our country. There is a certain deſcription of individuals, who, whilſt they affect to diſdain power, in reality exerciſe it. If ſuch an unreſtrained luſt of ambition predominate in our preſent Miniſter; if he, our Iülus, deſire ſeriouſly to know where his glory, his triumphs are to terminate; we inform him that there is a band, a courtly band, of public enemies, whom, without injury to his country, he may honourably vanquiſh. If he aſpire after a character for valour and for patriot-

iſm, I entreat, I adjure him to make thoſe inſidious wretches the objects of his juſt reſentments. I wiſh him to turn his weapons, all the force and ſkill of his oratorical powers, againſt thoſe wild beaſts, who, to uſe the language of his father, lurk in the dark, and have done ſo for a long time; 'who, in the midſt of the throne, and 'round about the throne, are full of eyes 'before and behind *.'

THAT the ſtate is in a frail and enervate condition, I readily acknowledge. I confeſs there are very few who have the power to adminiſter its remedy, or who ought to be entruſted with it: for which reaſon, it appears neceſſary to examine, with greater ſerioufneſs, the ſyſtem by which it has ſo long been conducted; and to explain the actions or the intentions of thoſe, who have been, or who now are, in the confidence of the Miniſter. Revolving theſe matters in my mind, the firſt character which preſents itſelf is that illuſtrious perſonage, under whoſe auſpices every tumultuous agitation was changed for the

* Revelations.

quieſcent

quieſcent indolence of peace; whoſe good faith, and tenacity to his engagements, are ſo exceedingly conſpicuous, 'he was named 'Doſon, as one ready to make, but back-'ward in performing, promiſes *.' There are who believe this man to have been the original occaſion of the miſchief; and, like Rufinus, to have ſown diſcord between the two parties. For my propenſity towards the ſame opinion, I urge the following reaſons.

THEY who, unprepared, are called upon to act from the exigence of unexpected occaſion, are generally wavering and undecided in their conduct; but ſo profoundly does Doſon meditate on all things, ſo well is he armed againſt every poſſible contingence, ſo full of inſidiouſneſs and treachery, that if any thing occur beyond his hopes, or contrary to his opinion, he is able in a moment to comprehend and make the moſt of its tendency. For ſuch conduct he had the ſanction of example: he had read in Livy that it became a good general to improve opportunity, and convert to his own

* Plutarch.

advantage

advantage the ſmiles of fortune. The mild and unaſſuming wiſdom of Lælius*, he well knew, muſt be an obſtacle to his views, gaping as he was for honours, and ambitious of the higheſt dignity. The anxious and amiable ſolicitude of Lælius for his country, had obtained the good will and affection of all parties; Doſon was therefore aware, that the death of this excellent man would leave a clear and unobſtructed field before him. All the faculties of his fruitful ſoul were exerciſed; he determined, however, finally to enjoy the glorious ſucceſs of artifice, or incur certain ruin. Rejecting, therefore, all communication with thoſe, who might either develope his projects, or ſtrenuouſly reſiſt his ambition, he made the preſent Miniſter his confederate in the adminiſtration of affairs.

THEY who divide authority, ſeldom have confidence in each other. The principle of mutual convenience, which generally introduces ſuch unions, from change of time and circumſtances, operates to its diſſolution. Doſon, ever reſtleſs, was diſ-

* Marquis of Rockingham.

ſatisfied

ſatisfied in the very poſſeſſion of the honours which had exerciſed his hopes. In the courſe of a few months, by his advice, and through his aſſiſtance, Mr. Pitt aſcended the miniſterial throne, who immediately uſed all the energy and influence of his ſtation, to depreſs the power of his friend; of the very man through whom he had obtained a weight in the ſenate, which would otherwiſe have been denied to his youth and inexperience. When Doſon was but the ſecond in power, he ſeemed deſirous to retain more influence than was annexed to his ſituation: but that young man, who can neither bear ſuperior nor equal, repelled him with acrimony and diſdain. What was the conſequence? Doſon exclaims that he envies neither the fortune nor the virtue of Sylla, who complained to his friends that he was, in his old age, compelled to contend with ſtriplings. He aſſumes, therefore, that good old ſtyle of life, neither tinged with malice, nor accuſtomed to deceit; unobſcured by vulgar, or even poliſhed diſſimulation. He confeſſes his inglorious love of eaſe, of that retirement which is remote from the tumult and falſehoods of the

the world. He whiſpers, that the ſecret paths to ambition others may explore in the city; to him, the meads and plains are preferable. He who diſcharges the duties of a good man (for that term has, by ſome one or other, been applied in the ſenate to Doſon) can never, in the nature of things, communicate alarm to his fellow-citizens, or poſſibly interrupt the public tranquillity.

Of that orator, who carries menace and terror on his brow, we think the eloquence Thraſonic, and deſpiſe its loudeſt thunder; whoſe aſpect, like the younger Novius, repels all underlings and petitioners. His appearance never fails to communicate the idea of outrage, and his countenance is alike gloomy and terrific. Of his dark frown what ſhall we ſay? It is a pledge, perhaps, for the ſecurity of the ſtate; or probably the ſenate may reſt upon it, as the heavens upon the ſhoulders of Atlas.

We are informed that Novius is verſed in every ſpecies of aſperity, and that the ſpirit

ſpirit of his genius is prompt to acts of inhumanity. Take from him, however, that vehemence which diſtinguiſhed Brutus, the bitterneſs of Menippus, and that ſullenneſs of viſage ſo peculiarly his own, and he may be properly enough left to decide on points of juriſprudence, and perplexities of law.

His ſtyle of oratory is warm and petulant; neither remarkable for its neatneſs, nor offenſive from its vulgarity. His attempts at ridicule, or humour, are mean and diſagreeable. His words, however, are well choſen, his oratory rapid, and his tones ſufficiently clear and ſtrong. His replies to his opponents are conſtantly acrimonious; he exerciſes all the figures of the profeſſion; his conſtructions of the law are artful and malignant; he becomes gradually ſo vehement and furious, that he exceeds all bounds of decorum, and, I had almoſt ſaid, of reaſon.

His fortune, like that of many others, correſponded with the qualities of his mind. He had learned from Mucianus, that the man who fears, willingly aſſigns importance to

to him whom he fears. Vaſt in his perſon, bold in his ſentiments, pompous in his words, and powerful, not ſo much in the qualities of wiſdom, as in the conſequence which he gives to trifles, he has ſecured the prejudices of the Upper Houſe. He has obtained all that could poſſibly be expected by a man of mean extraction, with the aid of oratorical abilities. What would diſgrace the pure characters of Titius and Seius, may come with propriety from Novius, who, eſcaped from the lower courts of judicature, now preſides at an auguſt tribunal; and, from a common pleader at the bar, is become the director of ſenatorial eloquence.—The influence which Q. Varrius, a huge but beaſtly fellow, once obtained by his powers of ſpeech amongſt his citizens, Novius, by ſimilar attainments, imagines he has obtained in the ſenate.

'Confident and ſhrewd,
'His look beſpeaks him of ſome conſequence;
'A grave ſeverity is in his face,
'And credit in his words*.'

INSOLENCE and bitterneſs of ſpeech have ſometimes, however, conſiderable impreſ-

* Colman's Terence. AND.

ſion:

ſion: but he who is conſtantly ſevere and overbearing; who obſtructs the juſteſt cauſe by concluſions too acute to be ingenuous; who injures its weight, or impedes its operation by inſidious fallacies; who always endeavours to haraſs his opponents by reproachful and obſtreperous language, may be fairly deemed a litigious and ſophiſtical declaimer.—The full purport of this obſervation, and the diſtinction which I wiſh to preſerve, will better appear from the words of Ariſtotle, than from mine:—'As 'in every diſpute injuſtice exhibits diffe-'rent ſpecies, and has alſo certain unjuſti-'fiable modes of vindication, I conſider 'contradiction as one of theſe diſputative 'modes. They who contend for the ſake 'of contention, may be termed captious 'lovers of diſpute; they who avail them-'ſelves of every advantage from ſiniſter 'views, may be termed ſophiſts.'

If Novius ſhould ever peruſe my ſentiments of his character, I would deſire him not 'to ſhake his tremendous head at me.' The ſevere and forbidding manner with which he ever addreſſes himſelf to others, will

will probably excite his indignation when directed againſt himſelf. I care not if he ſhall think me to have ſpoken of him with too much bitterneſs; it is the fair and reaſonable conſequence of the conduct which provoked it.

I WILL now addreſs myſelf to him in a very different language; I will uſe that ſtyle of cheerfulneſs and good humour, which is always ſecure of favourable attention. It is my anxious wiſh that no long period may paſs, before, worn out by buſineſs and by age, he willingly retreat from the cares of his high office, and ſpend the remainder of his days, with his beloved female companion, in affluence and eaſe.

SOME will perhaps imagine, that an amorous attachment is not entirely conſiſtent with declining age, and that it caſts a diſgraceful ſhade on him whoſe earlier years have been ſplendidly conſpicuous. But this is ſurely to judge with too much harſhneſs. I ſpeak in claſſic terms, but by no means as an accuſer, when I ſay that Novius might have claimed the character of a good and deſerving

deſerving citizen, if his life had paſſed with no more offenſive ſtain; if he had done no more diſhonourable action, than refuſing, from the plea of age, to ſeparate himſelf from her who had been the favourite and delight of his youth.

He who, from his earlieſt years, has obtained a memorable name in the campaigns of the bar, as well as in the annals of gallantry, we may ſuppoſe, on the advance of age, to have acquired ſome eaſe of manners, and gentleneſs of temper. We may ſuppoſe ſatiety to have acted as a corrector of his errors, or at leaſt to have ſmoothed their aſperities. He will neither be tenacious of his prejudices, nor aſhamed ſometimes to depart from his opinion: he will ſuffer himſelf to be entreated and appeaſed. To thoſe who have experienced the ſeverity of his manner, he will addreſs himſelf in the mild and polite language of Ariſtophanes—'You ſhall have no future 'occaſion to complain of my moroſeneſs; 'you ſhall find me hereafter eaſy of acceſs, 'and candid in my deciſions; and, as ſoon 'as I ſhall be releaſed from the weight of

'public buſineſs, you will ſee me aſſume 'the cheerfulneſs of youth.'

I AM not at all affected by the air of officiouſneſs and buſtle which a certain nobleman aſſumes. I forbear to mention his name, out of deference to thoſe laws which ſo prudently protect the delicacy, and defend the honour, of the great. It will be eaſy, by alluſion, to mark the individual who can, in hatred, exceed offended Majeſty itſelf; who is ſo intemperate of ſpeech, that there is hardly a name of diſtinction amongſt us, which his tongue has not wounded: he who hates Themiſtocles, and is equally unable to love Ariſtides. Although neither pertinaciouſly juſt, nor anxious of appearing ſo, he is ſo bigoted to his own opinions, that not even the voice of an oracle, in favour of our wooden walls, could deter him from his mad, prepoſterous ſchemes of fortification machinery. In the whole tenour of his conduct he has been ſo uniformly inſolent, ſo opinionated in his diſcharge of every public office, that his follies and imperiouſneſs together have never failed to excite the diſguſt of thoſe, who have thought

it neceſſary to uſe his friendſhip. The good people of England have been reluctant in liſtening to thoſe imputations which are aimed at the fame of the Miniſter; but they have been alike ſagacious to penetrate, and unanimous to deſpiſe, whatever has obtained the cordial patronage of Miſo-Themiſtocles. The fortifications of Hipparchus were proverbial at Athens; thoſe have become equally ſo amongſt ourſelves, which have been produced at a moſt enormous expence, without the ſmalleſt probability of eventual benefit.

THE daring falſehoods of Clodius, which formerly inſpired kings themſelves with terror, ceaſe now to allure a ſmile, or the fainteſt murmur of applauſe; for, having been again and again repeated, they excite faſtidiouſneſs amongſt the loweſt of the vulgar.

I HAVE before remarked of theſe four characters—of Doſon, Novius, Miſo-Themiſtocles, and Clodius—that they ought by no means to awaken apprehenſion. But they who by the labyrinths of ſtratagem,

and whiſperings of intrigue, attempt the accompliſhment of their object—who fix their reſidence in the ſacred receſſes of the empire, watching, as over prey, the public miſeries and diſcords—who accommodate themſelves, with pliant verſatility, to the complexion of the times—who, when the commonwealth is weak, make it yet weaker; when it is vigorous and ſtrong, feed upon its vitals—who encourage our youth to forſake the ſhades of retirement, for ſcenes of fatigue and tumult; raiſing them on high, afterwards to depreſs them with accumulated ruin—theſe are the men whoſe dark deſigns communicate terror and alarm.

BEHOLD now the mighty, the enormous Thraſybulus! whoſe countenance and appearance afford ampleſt matter for ridicule. If you wiſh to know the quality of his eloquence, it is marked by no elegance or ornament, it is rude and offenſive; always maimed, confuſed, and obſcure. To this, add a prompt volubility of tongue, and impudence not ſoon or eaſily abaſhed; with a tone of voice, which, although I have heard, I ſhall find difficult to deſcribe: it

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is by nature ruſtic and diſſonant: it ſometimes menaces him with ſuffocation; at others it is harſh, as if paſſed over a file. In the conſtant exerciſe of his unwearied ſides, it knows no pauſe; it beats the air, and wounds the ear; till broken, and as it were cut in two, it terminates in a ſcream. Cicero was of opinion that a harſh and ruſtic modulation is a manifeſt imperfection, notwithſtanding there are who take pains to acquire it. But I never knew any one, Thraſybulus alone excepted, who having a tone of voice moſt remarkably offenſive, did not either endeavour to avoid it altogether, or at leaſt try to ſoften its effect by ingenious artifice, or conſtant induſtry.

THEY who have ſeen the diſtortions of Thraſybulus, ſometimes to this ſide, ſometimes to the other, are at a loſs to imagine which will be favoured with his ſuffrage. Indeed the ſentiment of Marius ſeems equally true and appoſite with reſpect to him—That, to obtain eminence in the ſtate, a man ſhould never remember either injuries or kindneſs. Can he, however, be ſaid ever to ſuffer from injury, whoſe zealous

ſervice every man in power can direct, and command as he pleaſes? The intereſt therefore of Thraſybulus is ſecure, for he never knew what it was to bluſh. Tully obſerves that he had known ſome, who, not able to make themſelves orators, had obtained proficiency in the knowledge of the laws. Very different motives impelled our Thraſybulus to this courtly, though perilous habit of life. That he ſhould be conſtantly on the watch for new game, is not at all wonderful; appetite ſharpens the wit, and expands the genius. As long as he continued in his own country, he was confined to the lower courts, and eſteemed, even by the vulgar, rude and uncouth as an orator, and a mere child in legal knowledge. What his powers of ſpeech were able to effect, the judges hardly gave themſelves time to conſider; but even they allowed him the merit of clamorous perſeverance. His good fortune, therefore, was not complete and perfect; for although he poſſeſſed the two great requiſites of a pleader, confidence and noiſe, he did not ſucceed in his profeſſion. Nevertheleſs, he who was deemed by his countrymen to rank only with Leguleius

and

and Blatero—a mere hunter of ſyllables; and guardian of forms—was by the fates deſigned to enter the liſts of eloquence, with men of the moſt refined and exquiſite accompliſhments.

FROM a life of drudgery, he turned his attention to other habits; which is indeed frequently done by thoſe who wiſh to eſcape calamity, or elude misfortune. He had read, we believe, that the ancient Germans inured the leſs tractable and more miſhapen of their cattle to undergo the greateſt labour, by the effect of conſtant exerciſe. This man, therefore, born to ſtoop beneath a ſervile yoke, took care to diſcover in his character the fortitude, which deliberately defies all danger, and the patience which can acquieſce under the greateſt difficulties. He conceived that his merit would not only be more conſpicuous, but more ſplendid, if he openly confeſſed that no eye ſhould ever diſcover, in his conduct, a reluctance to undertake meaſures of a difficult nature, or a faſtidious delicacy with reſpect to thoſe which appeared baſe, and were thought diſhonourable. By being every

thing with every body, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the great. He then entered on ſenatorial duty; a ſituation full of care, and expoſed to much mortification. His tongue was, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, always in the water. He took a deliberate ſurvey of the different advantages of peace—affluence—power—the public revenues—the army; and how the eventual reſult of each was likely to affect his own individual intereſt. He ſubmitted to various difficulties, and bore very patiently a great deal of arrogance from others, without any detriment to his own dignity: in ſhort, the wiſh of others was the rule of his conduct and his words.

Upon this unceaſing, and perhaps diſhonourable labour, he reſted, as upon a ſolid baſis; and expanded himſelf far beyond the common limits of human glory. The labour of undertaking to convince and perſuade thoſe of elevated condition, his conduct has amply teſtified; but to extol their good or their diſhoneſt conduct with undeviating praiſe, he has ſhewn to be his habit, his excellence, and his duty.

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He has never, therefore, condeſcended to palliate his conduct by any ſpecioufneſs of apology; he has declared openly and boldly, with Marcus Terentius, 'It is not for us 'to eſtimate the intrinſic virtues of him 'whom you have raiſed to glory, or the 'motives of your partiality: to you the 'Gods have given the perfection of judg-'ment; the glory of obedience muſt be 'ours*.'

INTOXICATED with the favours of fortune, he openly enrolls his name amongſt thoſe of moſt diſtinguiſhed excellence. He avows himſelf ever prepared to undertake and ſuffer every thing, provided he retains his ſtation, and touches the golden reward. To ſuch a degree of levity has he arrived, that he thinks he may baſk in ſecurity under the ſhade of an illuſtrious name. In favour of his ſyſtematic ſcheme of life he quotes theſe words, which he utters aloud in the very ſpirit of Cicero, and whiſpers in ſecret to his friends—'That if he does not conſtantly 'expreſs himſelf in the ſame language, he 'has unalterably the ſame object in view†.'

* Tacitus. † Cic. Epiſt.

THE

THE man who purſues this line of conduct, is no doubt ſatisfied with himſelf, that he does what is grateful to thoſe with whom he is connected; that, when he unites opinions as contradictory as poſſible to each other, he ſtill remains perfectly conſiſtent with himſelf. It is the firſt, it is the deareſt object of his heart, that the character he ſuſtains ſhould continue unchanged, from the commencement of any undertaking, to its concluſion; that, as circumſtances alter, his ſentiments ſhould be ſuffered to alter along with them; and that a kind of conſiſtency ſhould be fixed to his moſt inconſiſtent actions.

WHAT fortune can accompliſh, whenever ſhe chooſes to wanton with bold and daring characters, Thraſybulus has ſeen and known. One principle is immutably rooted in his mind—That every man is indebted for his ſucceſs to himſelf; and that many may enjoy uninterrupted proſperity by conſulting the moment of opportunity, rather than the intereſts of the public. The words of Pompey are conſtantly in his mouth—not as a matter to be diſputed, but as a golden

golden rule of life—That 'more people 'worſhip the riſing, than the ſetting ſun*.' He is conſcious alſo of many qualities, in a manner peculiar to himſelf, which facilitate his advances to power and to wealth. Our Thraſybulus has no occaſion for preceding and eſtabliſhed fame, to prove whether any cauſe immediately before him, is honourable to record, or equitable to purſue. When he enters upon it, he can poſſibly have nothing to loſe; if it terminate in diſhonour, nought is expected from him to alleviate its infamy. With reſpect to his future hopes, he is perfectly ſecure. Fearing to give a wound even to the guilty, he gently relaxes the rigours of his eloquence; and whatever he can detract from the reſentments of others, he ſuffers with reſignation to deſcend upon himſelf. This man's character alone, will enable us to form a perfect idea of the generality of great men's friends. Upon ſuch as theſe the Miniſter, without reſerve, depends. Surrounded by theſe, in contradiction to every rule of right, he has arrived at that ſummit after which his ſoul aſpired. Theſe,

* Plutarch.

creeping

creeping from their hiding places, publicly attend him as companions. 'Oh ſad re-
'verſe of morals, and loſt dignity of the
'ſenate*!'—with ſo little equanimity does he bear ſucceſs, that he has placed, with unabaſhed confidence, ſuch men as theſe in the public ſenate of the nation, the ſupporters of his fame, and partners of his councels.

'Some meſſenger ſhall go from hence to fate,
'And to his father his foul deeds relate†.'

For my part, although I have never involved myſelf in any civil commotions, it has been my ambition to be, and to appear, the friend of the moſt virtuous. It has been my rule of conduct to follow the impulſe of my judgment and my conſcience, without any regard to the praiſe or the opinions of others. Many, perhaps, will affect ſurprize at my great attachment to a cauſe, which ſeems deſerted by the king, the ſenate, and the people. Others will probably require a ſpirit of temperance, the more difficult, becauſe evidently inconſiſtent; telling us to conſider thoſe as the more

* Horat. † Dryden's Virgil.

upright

upright characters, who poſitively forbid us to think what we pleaſe—rather than thoſe, who eſteem it a mark of contumely to ſpeak what we think.

THE cauſe itſelf, however, remains the ſame; it is fixed and immutable. We confeſs that the envy and iniquity of the times has ſo far receded, that what was reprehenſible in the contingent circumſtances, can now do leſs of injury; but what was good in the cauſe, will have a beneficial operation.

WE cannot omit relating, that, for theſe three laſt years, the friends of the Miniſter have in every place, and amongſt all deſcriptions of men, indulged the moſt extreme licentiouſneſs of ſpeech. The fatigue of writing was, for ſome time, aſſigned to ignorant and vulgar men: but as a writer has lately appeared of ſomewhat more reſpectable attainments, we think it, on our part, puſillanimous to be ſilent*. This author obſerves, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had diſtinguiſhed him by no acts

* Political State of Great Britain. 1787.

of

of injury or of kindneſs. We believe he might have ſaid, with greater propriety, that Veſpaſian began, Titus increaſed, and Domitian ſtill farther extended, the honours after which he ambitiouſly laboured.

THE cauſe itſelf, abſtractedly conſidered, is ſimple and intelligible; the artifices, however, of abandoned men, have rendered its vindication full of uncertainty and danger. Whatever may be the public opinion of me, I ſubmit to it with all patience, looking with ſome confidence to the favour of the wiſe and good. But I muſt be moſt particularly on my guard againſt thoſe, who with a ſuperſtitious zeal, blind as that which marked the diſciples of Pythagoras, conſider every expreſſion of the Miniſter as hallowed; who venerate the preſent unprecedented form of civil diſcipline, as a religious idol; who either deſignedly miſconſtrue the ſentiments of others, or prove that 'the reſult of their knowledge is, that 'they know nothing*.' I would wiſh them to bear in mind, if at any time they peruſe this performance, that it becomes them to

* Terent.

defend

defend themſelves without paſſion, and to refute me without inſolence. Let them beware of caſting reproach upon what we profeſs to admire, leaſt, as they were formerly made by name the merry burden of the Rolliad's ſong, each individual hear aloud of his particular miſdeeds. That I may not incur ſuſpicions which I do not in reality deſerve, I will explain more at length my ſentiments of the commonwealth.

THAT the ſtate not only may, but that it has received the ſevereſt wounds from thoſe who affect to be moſt ardent in defending its liberties, is what I always have believed —from thoſe very men who prate idly and fancifully of a government free and perfect in all its parts; and who then moſt appear to have come from the dregs of the people, when they talk, with pompous, petulant abſurdity, of Plato's ſyſtem. It gives us ſome chagrin and uneaſineſs to ſee all power, and the very nerves of the empire, vibrate upon the will of the ſenate; that they ſhould be ranked undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the decided enemies of their country, who in private, or in a trifling degree, violate the dignity of the people's repreſentatives,

tives, or who artfully and maliciouſly invade their conſtitutional authority. That we are averſe to the kingly title, is by no means the caſe; that the prerogative, as it is defined by the laws, ſhould be preſerved uninjured, as a ſacred public edifice, becomes the duty, in our opinion, of a well conſtituted government. If the monarch has himſelf ever given proofs of his attachment to the ſtate, we yield him our thanks and gratitude: the juſtice and the piety of his private life, have been equally the object of our pride and exultation. Sovereigns are placed in that delicate predicament, that their morals, whether good or the contrary, have the greateſt influence upon the public at large.—But it has excited our warmeſt indignation, to behold men lately fluttering round the royal reſidence, whoſe principles lead them to deteſt cordially, and without diſcrimination, like Caſſius, all governors—or, like Brutus, all government*. Theſe have deſcended to ſolicit, with the moſt eager and preſſing importunity, the royal grace and favour: and in return for what? For the unreſtrain-

* Plutarch.

ed

ed language of inſult and reproach.—There have been men, who in their time enjoyed the character of wiſdom, whoſe opinion it was, that nothing could be conſigned to more durable infamy, or make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the human memory, as the circumſtance of giving offence, where reſentments were as ſevere, as power was extenſive. That ſentiment indeed is borrowed from Heroic times: we read in Homer,

'Bold is the taſk, when ſubjects, grown too wiſe,
'Inſtruct a monarch where his error lies;
'For though we deem the ſhort-liv'd fury paſt,
''Tis ſure the mighty will revenge at laſt.'

But, in theſe our days, much more odium is incurred by thoſe who ſtudy to gratify both the king and the people, than by thoſe who, whilſt they wound the former with the aſperity of Theon, ſoothe and miſlead the others by deluſion and by falſehood. It is peculiar and appropriate to us of this country, that our great men ſhould never indulge the odious remembrance of injuries; that they ſhould ſhow themſelves placable to individuals of the moſt oppoſite principles and conduct; that they ſhould be marked, if we may be allowed the ex-

preſſion, by a ſpirit of gentle inconſtancy. The motive of ſuch behaviour is, no doubt, laudable and conſiſtent; they, who once behaved with inſolent audacity, may perhaps change with changing circumſtances, and render themſelves uſeful. They may lay aſide, perhaps, their haughty and untractable ſpirits; and, though it may ſeem a little ungraceful, they may bend their ſtubborn minds to the humility of obſequiouſneſs.

We are far from conceiving it to be the duty of a good citizen to 'kick againſt the 'pricks:' on the contrary, the better he thinks of the ſtate in which he lives, the more cautious and delicate will he be in the delivery of his ſentiments. To us it appears to be no violation of candour or propriety, if we point, with the diffidence of caution, to the main ſpring of the machine.

Such is the condition of human affairs, that a man may poſſeſs the exerciſe of ſupreme authority, although by no means of elevated birth. The rights of mankind may

may ſuffer gradual violence from thoſe who wiſh to depreſs all claims of dignity, and exertions of genius; who are not only envious of virtue, but deſirous to oppreſs and chaſtiſe it.—'They who think theſe 'ſplendid diſtinctions moſt ſecurely pro-'tected, when dependant on the will of 'an individual, may enjoy momentary 'emotions of tranſport, but will probably 'ſuffer in the end ſevere and continued 'remorſe*.'

THESE our ſentiments have been expreſſed with a kind of prophetic ardour, without liſtening to any ſolicitation, without any view of conciliating the favour of the great. If we ſhall be thought to have ſpoken in too exalted terms of the men to whom we have inſcribed this work of Bellendenus, that which they may truly ſay of themſelves, will avail alſo to our juſtification. The ſentiment of Pindar is here peculiarly appoſite—When one told him that he praiſed him on every occaſion, and in every company—'I thank you,' he

* Salluſt.

replied, 'and will be careful to ſupport 'your character for veracity*.'

To one excellent and illuſtrious man† that I have paid no ſtudied panegyric, although poſſeſſing ampleſt materials for the purpoſe, I vindicate myſelf from the example of Antalcides, who replied to a certain ſophiſt, deſirous of reciting the praiſes of Hercules, 'Did any one ever 'utter a ſyllable to his diſhonour?' I ſhall encourage no ſentiments but thoſe of contemptuous diſdain, with reſpect to the inſinuations of malignity, the ſcurrilous loquacity of the half-learned, and all that variety of abuſe generally heaped upon the friends of truth. I declare, with every proteſtation of ſolemnity, that I have in no one inſtance been influenced by perſonal animoſity or envy.

I HAVE diſtinguiſhed the cauſe from thoſe who ſupport it; hating the one, but not the other: which ſentiment I particularly apply to that young man, in whom

* Plutarch. † D—e of P——d.

I will-

I willingly confeſs to have diſcovered proofs both of virtue and of genius, when firſt he entered the career of glory. Betwixt the barrier and the goal, however, a long diſtance, and various objects, intervene. The way itſelf is inſidious, 'puzzled with mazes, 'and perplexed with errors.' To advance or recede, is attended with equal difficulty and danger.—Why ſhould I diſſemble my ſentiments? His colleagues ſeem to have brought him down from the ſkies, and to have ſucceeded in making him, not like his connections, but moſt prepoſterouſly unlike himſelf.

SUCH is my reſpect for the dignity of his venerable office, that I would moſt willingly not have uttered a word in his diſpraiſe. But what I have ſaid has been in a manner extorted from me by his petulance and pride; by that bitterneſs of reproach which, without diſcrimination, he heaps upon every more deſerving character; by his uſing indiſcreetly, and retaining unwiſely, the power which he obtained by the moſt unjuſtifiable meaſures.

YET ſhould I diſcover a want both of gratitude and juſtice, if I were ſilently to paſs over the late actions of the Miniſter, or render them too ſparing a tribute of applauſe. That he has, in a manly manner, defended the rights of the church, and made his eloquence a kind of ſedulous handmaid to the political ſagacity of Lord North, claims and deſerves the higheſt commendation. In what relates to the Aſiatic governor, he ſeems to have recovered the energy of his mind; to have lent his ſtrenuous exertions in bringing to the light of day that truth, which ſo long was buried under a moſt enormous preſſure.

OF this young man it may be ſaid, that he has undertaken what would have alarmed the prudent, and accompliſhed what could only have been expected from the moſt fortunate. If, by a continued courſe of ingenuous diſcipline, he had improved and adorned the powers he poſſeſſes—if he had been ſatisfied with a more moderate exerciſe of authority—the aſſent of the good would have given to the maturity of his age, what he has been ardent to obtain by tumultuous

tumultuous exertions, by oſtentatious ſelf-parade, by the aid of a deluded multitude.

HURRIED along as he is by the tide of ambition, I ſubmit the following words of Plutarch to his moſt ſerious attention:

'I AM of opinion that they who by 'accident, or without the exerciſe of fore-'ſight, ſtumble upon power as into a well, 'will of neceſſity ſuffer the ſolicitude of 'repentance. They who enter upon it with 'deliberation and firmneſs, are prepared 'for every occurence; having no object in 'view but the honourable diſcharge of 'duty.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE political Sentiments of the Editor of BELLENDENUS, *with his Obſervations on* Men *and* Meaſures, *are here brought to a Concluſion. We have, nevertheleſs, not thought it improper to complete the Preface, by tranſlating what remains of it; in which the Editor proceeds to deſcribe more at length the* Character, Situation, *and* Performances *of* BELLENDENUS, *with a few detached Sentiments on Literature interſperſed; intereſting to Scholars, though not connected with what precedes.*

It may not be improper to inform the Readers, that, according to our Conception of the Dramatis Perſonæ,

DOSON *is the M—q—s of* L—nſd—e;
NOVIUS, *the* Ch-nc-ll-r;
MISO-THEMISTOCLES, *D—e of* R——d;
THRASYBULUS, *Mr.* D——s;
CLODIUS, *Mr.* W—s

CONCLUSION.

HAVING now paſſed beyond thoſe ſhoals and rocks, which menaced us with ſo much danger, we have a clear and unobſtructed courſe before us, and are at liberty to give a more particular account of BELLENDENUS. He was by birth a Scotchman; and ſo diſtinguiſhed by his genius and literary attainments, as to deſerve the expreſſion conſtantly applied by the learned to Buchanan—'He was rather to be called a light, than a 'man, of Scotland.' As far as conjecture may determine, he was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family. Of his particular ſituation, and habits of life, we have been able to collect no certain information.

DEMPSTER, in his Lives of the Scotch Writers, ſays, that 'Gulielmus Bellendenus' was Humanity Profeſſor at Paris, in 1602. He was 'Maſter of Requeſts*' to James the Sixth

* 'Magiſter Supplicum Libellorum.

of

of Scotland, whoſe particular favour he enjoyed.

By way of explaining to the Reader the nature and meaning of this title, we ſubjoin what follows: 'The inhabitants of Sicily had 'a magiſtrate termed *Libellenſis*, the ſame with 'the *Magiſter Libellorum* of others; whoſe office 'it was to receive petitions, and to make a re-'port of them, after examination, to the Sove-'reign.'—Conſtitut. Sicul. lib. i. tit. 38. § 2. —See alſo Du Cange, Gloſſar. vol. ii. *ſupplicare*, 'to offer a written ſupplication to the 'Prince.'—Vicat. Vocab. Jur. Utr. tom. iv. *Magiſtri Libellorum*, in inſcriptione, l. un. D. —De Off. Præf. Præt. l. un. C.—Theod. de Curſ. Publ. *qui ſupplices libellos a privatis oblatos tractabant*—'they whoſe buſineſs it was 'to examine the written petitions of private 'perſons.'—They are alſo called *Carthophylaces et Libellani.* Vicat. tom. iii.—Martial alſo, epig. 31, book viii.

Sed jam ſupplicibus Dominum laſſare libellis
Deſine——

'Ceaſe to weary my Lord the Emperor with your 'petitions and requeſts.'

Whether James conferred any other mark of diſtinction upon him, we are entirely ignorant. Every one knows that monarch to have poſſeſſed no mean portion of learning, and to have treated men of ſcience with diſtinguiſhed regard,

regard. Certain it is, that to his liberality Bellendenus was indebted for a life of ingenuous retirement at Paris. Whilſt he continued in that metropolis, he neither permitted his abilities to languiſh, nor was forgetful of the welfare of the community. Of theſe three books, he himſelf edited the ſecond and third twice, and the firſt once. Ciceronis Princeps ſaw the light in 1608, under this title—'Ciceronis 'Princeps, rationes et concilia bene gerendi 'firmandique imperii: ex iis repetita, quæ ex 'Ciceronianis defluxere fontibus, in libros xvi. 'de ſtatu rerum Romanarum, qui nondum 'lucem acceperunt. Pariſiis, apud Carolum 'Chappelain, via Amygdalina, ſub ſigno beatæ 'Mariæ, CIↃIↃCIIX.' To this firſt edition of Ciceronis Princeps, was prefixed 'Tractatus 'de Proceſſu et Scriptoribus Rei Politicæ.' But in the three books De Statu, publiſhed in 1616, it preſerves the place which we, deſirous of faithfully treading in the ſteps of Bellendenus, have here aſſigned it.

THE firſt edition of Cicero's Conſul is introduced with this title—'Ciceronis Conſul, 'Senator, Senatuſque Romanus: illuſtratus 'publici obſervatione juris, graviſſimi uſus diſ-'ciplina, adminiſtrandi temperatâ ratione: 'notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et 'actis rerum in Senatu: quæ a Ciceroniana 'nondum edita profluxere memoria, annorum 'DCCX.

'DCCX. congeſta in libros XVI. De ſtatu rerum 'Romanarum, unde jam manavit Ciceronis 'Princeps, dignus habitus ſummorum lectione 'principum. Ad inclytum ſereniſſimumque 'Principem Henricum, Principem Scotiæ et 'Walliæ. Per G. Bellendenum, Magiſtrum 'Supplicum Libellorum auguſti Regis Magnæ 'Britanniæ, &c. Pariſiis, apud Joannem Cor-'bon, e regione Eccleſiæ S. Hilarii, ſub ſigno 'Cordis Boni, M.DC.XII. Cum Privilegio 'Regis.'

Extraict du Privilege du Roy.

TRES expreſſes inhibitions et deffences ſont faites a tous, d'imprimer, ou expoſer en vente, le livre intitulè, 'Ciceronis Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Roma-'nus: per Gulielmum Bellendenum, Magiſtrum Sup-'plicum Libellorum auguſti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ,' durant le temps et eſpace de ſix ans, a commencer du jour qu'il ſera acheve d'imprimer: ſi ce n'eſtoit de l'expreſſe permiſſion et conſentement dudit Bellenden; a peine de confiſcation des livres, dommages et intereſts, et d'amende arbitraire: comme plus amplement eſt declare et contenu aux dites lettres du privilege, du 5 Juillet, l'an de grace mil ſix cens douze.

Par le Roy en ſon Conſeil.

Signé, DE VABRES.

JE ſoubs ſigné ay permis et permets a Jean Corbon, marchand libraire juré en c'eſte ville de Paris, de faire imprimer, et expoſer en vente, le livre intitulè, 'Ciceronis Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Romanus,' par moy faict, et de jouyr et uſer plaiſement du benefice

du

du privilege a moy ſur ce octroyé par le Roy, le 5 du preſent mois. Faict ſoubs mon ſigné, le 14 Juillet 1612.

'Hi duo libri in nomine apparuerunt ſereniſſimi 'Principis Henrici.'

THE ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1616, to which was added, 'Liber de Statu Priſci 'Orbis,' dedicated to Prince Charles, the ſurviving brother of Henry, which had been ſent to the preſs in the year preceding.

MUCH as I diſdain the affected importance of thoſe, who make a prodigious diſturbance about trifles, it is not beneath our attention to examine into the difficulties which exiſt concerning the particular period when Bellendenus firſt of all publiſhed his 'Liber de Statu.' In the title-page of the three books 'De Statu,' evidently publiſhed by Bellendenus in the year 1616, it is expreſsly ſaid, 'This book is 'now for the firſt time printed.'

BUT the date of the copy of this work, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, is 1615. The ſame date alſo occurs in the end of the dedication, which in the three books 'De Statu,' publiſhed in the year following, is ſubjoined to the tract 'De Proceſſu Rei Publicæ.' Moreover, the laſt numeral 1, at the bottom of the title-page, ſeems added by the printer, after the numeral letters M.DC.XV. had been printed.

This

This at leaſt is the caſe in all the copies which have come under my inſpection.

I CONCEIVE, therefore, the matter with reſpect to Bellendenus to have been as follows: The 'Liber de Statu Priſci Orbis' was finiſhed, to a certain degree, in 1615; a few copies of which the author diſperſed, or preſented to his friends, and ſome perſons of diſtinction. The remaining copies, printed at the ſame time, were deſignedly kept back by Bellendenus, for ſome months, for the purpoſe of adding the two books, 'De Principe et Conſule;' and completing, by theſe means, the whole and entire work, 'De Statu,' in one volume.

IN the copy of the book 'De Statu Priſci Orbis,' preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, and alſo in that which, conſiſting of three books, the book 'De Statu' is placed firſt, there is the ſame number of pages, and the form preſerved; except that the one in the Muſeum has not the tract 'De Proceſſu Rei Politicæ,' which is prefixed to the other. For theſe reaſons I aſſerted there were two editions of the book 'De Statu Priſci Orbis.' For that which I called the firſt edition, has a different title, and the royal privilege in a manner appropriate to itſelf; given, if I am not miſtaken, to Bellendenus, after he had received the

the privilege of publiſhing the three books collectively.

In the book 'De Statu Priſci Orbis,' publiſhed in 1615, there is this title prefixed:

'Gulielmi Bellendeni, Magiſtri Supplicum Libellorum auguſti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. De Statu Priſci Orbis in Religione, Re Politicâ, et Literis, liber unus. Ad ſereniſſimum Principem Carolum, Principem Scotiæ et Walliæ. Pariſiis, apud Herveum du Meſnil, via S. Joannis Lateranenſis, ſub ſigno Bellerophontis Coronati, M.DC.XV. Cum Privilegio Regis.'

Par lettres du grand ſeau, du 1 Juin 1615, defenſes ſont faictes a tous d'imprimer ou vendre, ſoit par le tout ou partie, les livres entitulez, 'G. Bellendeni, &c. De Statu libri tres;' l'un deſquels eſt celuy, 'De Statu Priſci Orbis,' &c. durent le temps de ſix ans: ſi ce n'eſt du conſentement dudict Bellenden; a peine de confiſcation des livres, dommages et intereſts, et d'amande arbitraire: comme il eſt plus amplement declaré par les dites lettres ſignées 'Le Liepure;' et en queue, 'D'Amboiſe.'

The title of the book now edited by us, is as follows: 'Gulielmi Bellendeni, Magiſtri Supplicum Libellorum auguſti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. De Statu libri tres. 1. De Statu Priſci Orbis in Religione, Re Politicâ, et Litteris. 2. Ciceronis Princeps; ſive, De

'Statu

'Statu Principis et Imperii. 3. Ciceronis 'Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Romanus; ſive, 'De Statu Reip. et Urbis imperantis Orbi. 'Primus nunc primum editus; cæteri, cum 'tractatu de Proceſſu et Scriptoribus Rei Po- 'liticæ, ab Auctore aucti et illuſtrati. Pariſiis, 'apud Herveum du Meſnil, via S. Joannis 'Lateranenſis, ſub ſigno Bellerophontis Co- 'ronati, M.DC.XVI. Cum Privilegio Regis.'

Extraict du Privilege du Roy.

TRES expreſſes inhibitions et deffenſes ſont faictes a tous, d'imprimer, ou expoſer en vente, ſoit pour le tout ou partie, les livres intitulez, 'Gulielmi Bellen- 'deni, Magiſtri Supplicum Libellorum auguſti Regis 'Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. De Statu libri tres.' Le premier, 'De Statu Priſci Orbis.' Le ſecond, 'Ciceronis 'Princeps; ſive, De Statu Principis.' Le troiſieſme, 'Ciceronis Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Romanus; ſive, 'De Statu Reip. et Urbis imperantis Orbi,'—durant le temps et eſpace de ſix ans, a commencer du jour que les dicts livres ſeront achevez d'imprimer: ſi ce n'eſtoit de l'expreſſe permiſſion et conſentement dudict Bellenden; a peine des confiſcation des livres, dommages et intereſts, et d'amende arbitraire: comme plus amplement eſt declaré et contenu aux lettres du privilege du premier Juin, l'an de grace mil ſix cens douze.

Par le Roy en ſon Conſeil.

Signé, LE LEIPURE.

Et ſigné en queue, D'AMBOISE.

THE

THE underwritten teſtimony of theſe books we have taken from Baverus: 'Bellendeni '(Gul.) Ciceronis Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque 'Romanus. De Statu Libri Tres; videlicet, '1. De Statu Priſci Orbis in Religione, Re Po-'litica, et Litteris. 2. Ciceronis Princeps; ſive, 'De Statu Principis et Imperii. 3. Ciceronis 'Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Romanus, Libri 'rari, Widekind, p. 363.' tom. v. Baveri Biblioth. lib. rar. univ. ſive, tom. i. ſupplem. The above book was publiſhed at Norinberg, by John James Baverus, in 1770; but of theſe publications of Bellendenus, Baverus himſelf has not mentioned a ſyllable. The ſupplement, in two volumes, was publiſhed in 1774, from the firſt of which we have taken the authority above cited.

SAXIUS, in his excellent Onomaſticon, writes thus: 'Ann. Dom. 1612, Gulielmus 'Bellendenus, gente Scotus, philologus et 'archæologus: hoc anno ipſi debebatur Cice-'ronis Conſul, Senator, Senatuſque Romanus, 'Pariſiis, 8, et de Tribus Luminibus Romano-'rum liber. Pariſiis 1633. fol. Vid. F. G. 'Freytag, Analecta Litteraria, p. 81. David 'Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuſe, tom. iii. p. '71, 72, (50)—(52).' Tom. iv. p. 224.

THE authorities of Baverus and Saxius are exceedingly imperfect, and they neither of

them appear to have employed the ſmalleſt attention concerning the order in which Bellendenus publiſhed his works. We have to inform our readers, that no mention is made of them, either by Morhofius, in his Polyhiſtor.—nor by Fabricius, in his Biblioth. Latin. Med. et Infim. Ætat.—nor yet in the 'Amœnitatibus Litterariis,' publiſhed in 1728 at Franckfort and Leipſic; notwithſtanding the ſecond, fifth, and eighth of theſe volumes diſcuſs at length, and with conſiderable elegance, the ſubject of rare books. We likewiſe find no account of them in the 'Obſervationibus 'Litterariis Halæ Magdebergicæ,' publiſhed in 1705; although, in the tenth volume of this work, there is a very learned and perſpicuous diſſertation on rare books.

VERY few copies are to be met with, either in private collections, or public libraries. The following is an account of ſuch as are to be found in Cambridge:—Clare-Hall Library poſſeſſes the Princeps Editio of 'Ciceronis 'Conſul:' that of Emanuel has the 'Tres Libri 'de Statu:' of this collection I have to obſerve, that it is excelled by none which have come within my knowledge, in books of the greateſt merit, and moſt particular rarity. In the Public Library there are two copies of the Princeps Editio of 'Ciceronis Conſul,' and one of the 'De Statu Tres Libri.'

IN

In the Bodleian Catalogue, publiſhed at Oxford in 1738, we find no account of them. That library, however, contains the Princeps Editio of the 'Ciceronis Princeps.' In the College of All Souls alſo, there is a copy of the 'Tres Libri de Statu.'

The book, 'De Statu Priſci Orbis,' is in the Britiſh Muſeum, and I believe it formerly belonged to Charles the Firſt.

A copy of the 'Ciceronis Conſul' is found in the King's private library, which, for its number and ſplendour of books, truly deſerves the epithet of Royal, and may juſtly be compared to the literary treaſures of the Ptolemys and Oſmyandyas.

In the Royal Library at Paris, there is one copy of the 'Tres Libri de Statu,' No. 1346. De Juriſprudentiâ.

The reverend and very learned C. M. Cracherode, a truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, poſſeſſes the book 'De Statu Priſci Orbis,' and the Princeps Editio of 'Ciceronis Conſul.'

We found two copies, which we procured with great eagerneſs, of the 'Tres Libri de 'Statu,' in the London catalogues of 1787.

No part of the 'Tres Libri de Statu,' which may well excite wonder, is to be found either in Hunter's Muſeum, or the Argyle Collection.

It may not be improper to inform the Reader, that "the Political Precepts given by "the Auguſt Father to his Son," alluded to by Bellendenus in his Preface to the 'Ciceronis 'Princeps,' was printed in London, under this title: 'Baſilikon Doron; or, His Mageſties 'Inſtructions to his deareſt Sonne, Henrie the 'Prince. At London imprinted by Richard 'Field, for John Norton, according to the 'Copie printed at Edenburg, 1603.' It may alſo be worth while to inform the Readers of Bellendenus of another particular, which appears to me, at leaſt, very probable—that the marginal references of that book are adapted 'to the Aldine Edition of Cicero; to which '(if we may believe Nizolius) the editions of 'Pauli Minut. Aldi, F. et Uvendelin. Argen-'torat. in every inſtance correſpond*.'

Those of Robert and Charles Stephens ſo minutely agree, that, after the ſtricteſt compariſon, they may be eaſily miſtaken for each other. It is notorious that, in the Aldine edition, there are ſeven orations againſt Verres; the firſt of which is that now termed, 'Divi-'natio in Q. Cæcilium.'

To the 'Libri de Statu' we have prefixed two Poems; a copy of which, in quarto, is to be ſeen in the Britiſh Muſeum.

* Nizol. Præf.

The

THE candid Reader will not be diſpleaſed if we ſubjoin a few curſory remarks on the greater, but unfiniſhed work of Bellendenus, 'De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum.'

WHILST Bellendenus was employed in writing the three books which we now offer to the Public, he had Cicero conſtantly before him. His warmeſt attachment, therefore, and increaſing admiration, were neceſſarily attracted to the character whoſe writings were the object of his unremitted attention; whoſe expreſſions were as familiar to him as poſſible, and whoſe various and profound learning occupied all the faculties of his ſoul. Perceiving that he poſſeſſed rich and abundant materials for future fame, he ſeems to have prepared himſelf for a far more difficult and ſplendid exertion. The ſtores which he had at hand, he moſt ſkilfully interwove in his new work, 'De Tribus Luminibus,' as far as that work goes. Death, as I have before remarked, prevented his collecting and arranging what related to Seneca and Pliny, and conſequently interrupted the final accompliſhment of his purpoſe. Every portion of what remains, bears ample teſtimony to his induſtrious vigilance, and ſuperior genius. Whatever we find, in the different writings of Cicero, elegantly expreſſed, or acutely conceived, Bel-

lendenus has not only collected in one view, but elucidated in the cleareſt manner. He, therefore, who peruſes this performance with the attention which it merits, will poſſeſs all the treaſures of antiquity, all the energy of the brighteſt examples. He will obtain an adequate knowledge of the Roman law, and ſyſtem of juriſprudence; and may draw, as from an inexhauſtible ſource, an abundance of expreſſions, the moſt exquiſite in their kind.

THE Univerſity of Oxford, not a great while ago, republiſhed, in a very beautiful type, the works of Cicero, from Olivet's edition, increaſed and illuſtrated by the various readings of different manuſcripts. Cambridge would moſt particularly gratify the learned world, if it would give, from the Univerſity Preſs, a new edition of the work of Bellendenus, ſo evidently calculated to preſerve and extend the reputation of Cicero.

A VERY ingenious and moſt learned author* informs the public, that many copies of this book were loſt at ſea, in their paſſage to England: the 'Biblia Sueſica Marci,' Ann. Dom. 1637, in octavo, ſhared a ſimilar fate; as did alſo, 'Biblia Regia vel Polyglotta, Typis 'Plantinianis, 8 vol. printed in 1516.' We are alſo told of certain orations of James Criton, a very learned Scotchman, ſcattered

* Wharton's Life of Pope.

pieces

pieces of which only remain; but which, in the opinion of Gabriel Naudæus, are diſtinguiſhed by all the ſweetneſs and purity of eloquence. Whoever ſhall collect theſe together, and give them to the world, may claim the gratitude of literary men.

THERE was a time when the Scotch paid moſt particular attention to the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature: they were ſaid to ſpeak Latin with correctneſs, and indeed more claſſically than moſt of the Engliſh, who at that time reſided in their 'Sparta,' as they termed it. To theſe ſtudies, however, the fortune of the commonwealth became exceedingly inimical. The intercourſe with the Muſes gave way to the turbulence of the times, and vaniſhed before the din and clamour of civil diſſentions. Add to this, that many whoſe reputation for learning was exceedingly high, not chuſing to attach themſelves to party, or deſirous of extending their literary attainments, or from motives of no diſingenuous nature, retired from their country, whither they returned no more. No wonder, therefore, that the works of many writers of that country have periſhed; leaving not the ſmalleſt veſtige behind them.

WE ſubmit, however, the more patiently to the loſs of many excellent books, from the brilliant proſpect which Scotland, at the preſent

day, preſents to every contemplative mind. Philoſophy, till the preſent period, had not only made no conſiderable progreſs in Scotland, but ſeemed in a manner to lie in torpid inactivity; both that which involves the œconomy of life and morals, as well as that extenſive and glorious ſyſtem, which comprehends the region of metaphyſics—which, paſſing by the ſtreams of ſcience, dares to penetrate and explore the myſteries of the parent fountain. This has lately excited the attention of their moſt learned individuals, and has been cultivated with the happieſt ſucceſs. So great is the light which it has received and communicated, that queſtions of the moſt abſtruſe and difficult nature have been repeatedly given to the world in the moſt adorned and perſpicuous language. Thoſe philoſophers of antiquity, who, diſtinguiſhed by their ingenuity and acuteneſs, were the pride, the oracles of their ſects, appear to have the ſplendour of their talents obſcured by the progreſſive improvements of poſterity.

To enumerate the philoſophic characters which in the ſpace of a very few years have flouriſhed in Scotland—to aſcertain the extent of their learning, the variety and abundance of their ſtudious purſuits—would be no eaſy undertaking. Neither have they ſeparately laboured in the accompliſhment of any individual

vidual object, but directed their induſtry and talents to whatever the human mind can obtain by perſeverance, or elucidate by the powers of argumentation. Under their auſpices that diviſion of the ſciences, which formerly took place under the ſanction of Socrates, will be gradually forgotten; will imperceptibly give place to that union of eloquence and ſolid wiſdom, which was the boaſt and delight of more remote antiquity. Theſe indeed are the revolutions of the more exquiſite arts; which, at one time, appear forcibly torn from each other; at another, amicably co-operating to one and the ſame purpoſe. This it is which fully juſtifies the remark of Cicero—'When thoſe powers of reaſon, em-'ployed in the inveſtigation of cauſes and 'effects, ſhall have been exerciſed to their 'fulleſt extent, the conſequence will be, a 'wonderful harmony and union of all ſci-'ence, and of all philoſophy*.' To this termination, thoſe exerciſes of the mind, and delightful contentions of genius, manifeſtly tend, which now univerſally animate the ardour of Scotland in the noble purſuits of philoſophy. Theſe eſtimable men will give the trueſt teſtimonies of their wiſdom, when they ſhall forſake thoſe narrow limits in which they have too long been immured—when

* Cicero De Orat. lib. iii.

they

they ſhall leave the purſuit of uninſtructing ſubtleties, and verbal diſquiſitions, for better and for greater purpoſes—when they ſhall leave the confinement of the vale, to range over a wide and unobſtructed plain—when they ſhall be at liberty to unfold all their abilities, and exerciſe their matureſt vigour. Their productions may bid defiance to oblivion and to time. The fate which Bellendenus and Criton experienced, will never affect, with ſimilar injuries, the writings of Smith or Hume, of Reid or Beatty.

My relief from the continued fatigue of a laborious ſituation, has been the peruſal of Greek and Latin authors. The candid reader will therefore forgive me, if I ſhall be found to have uſed in this Preface ſuch words or ſentences, as, in the courſe of my reading, excited my more particular attention. My principal object being to recover this work of Bellendenus from the gloom of oblivion, I thought myſelf juſtified in doing what he had done before, more frequently, though with greater ſagacity.

To the more remarkable paſſages of different authors, from which I have profeſſedly borrowed ſometimes elegant expreſſions, and ſometimes entire ſentences, I have made references in the margin. I have by no means done this to make a puerile and oſtentatious parade

parade of extenſive reading, but in imitation of the faithful diligence of Bellendenus; and that the motives of my partiality to ſuch paſſages, might be ſeen in their fulleſt energy and extent. I ſhould think myſelf more deſerving of cenſure than commendation, were I to liſten to the captious prejudices of thoſe whom theſe reaſons may not ſatisfy.

To what preciſe limits the imitation of the ancients ought to extend, I pretend not to determine. In matters of this kind, every one has his own particular taſte to purſue, and judgment to ſatisfy. All words which are clear and ſignificant, may, I think, properly be uſed in Latin compoſition. Merit of this kind is not to be decided from particular phraſes or expreſſions, but from the general tenour and complexion of an entire performance. A ſeeming harſhneſs may therefore, in my conception, be ſometimes not only entitled to excuſe, but praiſe; when the object is, to expreſs an idea with appropriate accuracy.

In compoſitions like the preſent, it is, I think, of little importance, whether the writers whoſe words we may have adopted, flouriſhed in the golden or ſilver age of Latinity. That appears to me moſt excellent, which is beſt adapted to the ſubject in queſtion. They who exerciſe a ſedulous perſeverance in ſelecting terms which are abſtruſe and difficult—or they who

who gratify the ear at the expence of ſomewhat more eſſentially valuable—although they do not provoke my ſevere diſpleaſure, do certainly not excite my ſtrenuous imitation. It is the remark of Cellarius, 'That, as we poſſeſs but few writers of the golden age, Latinity would be in a manner ſterile, if we denied our praiſe to all but Cicero and his cotemporaries. We may fairly call to our aſſiſtance the ſilver age which followed, from which we borrow words new indeed, but no leſs elegant, and for which we have the ſanction and authority of the Roman people*.'

THAT I have uſed the words 'textus,' 'margo,' and others of a ſimilar nature, without apology, ought not to offend even thoſe who pride themſelves on their ſuperior correctneſs, and more poliſhed judgments. But why on ſo trifling an occaſion do I uſe ſo ſerious a ſtyle? Becauſe faſtidious and malignant perſons take wonderful delight in theſe hypercriticiſms, not knowing what the learned Henry Stephens has argued, with great acuteneſs, on this very ſubject. That ingenious ſcholar remarks, that 'thoſe ears muſt be delicate indeed, which cannot bear ſuch expreſſions; particularly, when others are not to be met with†.'

* Cellarii Curæ Poſteriores. † Pſeudo Cicero.

THAT

THAT I have occaſionally introduced Greek words in my Latin compoſition, was not, I can aſſure the Reader, becauſe I thought them eſſential to ornament or to elegance; nor was it to excite admiration from being thought profound; for it is, in fact, what a child in Greek learning might have done likewiſe. The ideas I had in my mind, ſeemed frequently and minutely to correſpond with what I had been reading: and I was farther inclined to hope, that what had been expreſſed in Greek with ſingular beauty, would not, when inſerted in my production, appear like gaudy and unbecoming trappings, but rather as marks of diſtinction, and aids to perſpicuity. It would be prepoſterous to imagine that they, who are converſant with the Greek language, would be better pleaſed to ſee Greek terms tranſlated into Latin.

SOME, perhaps, may be inquiſitive to know why I have diſtinguiſhed a certain young man, of exalted ſtation, by a Greek appellation. I have, in this inſtance, imitated the example of Nicholas Heinſius; who, in his letters to Gronovius, frequently calls Gevartius 'Ο Δεῖνα,' avoiding, in teſtimony of contempt, to give him his proper name.

LET no one imagine that, either in the delivery of my own ſentiments, or in the republication of the works of Bellendenus, I had the moſt

moſt diſtant intention of making either myſelf, or them, ſubjects of popular animadverſion.

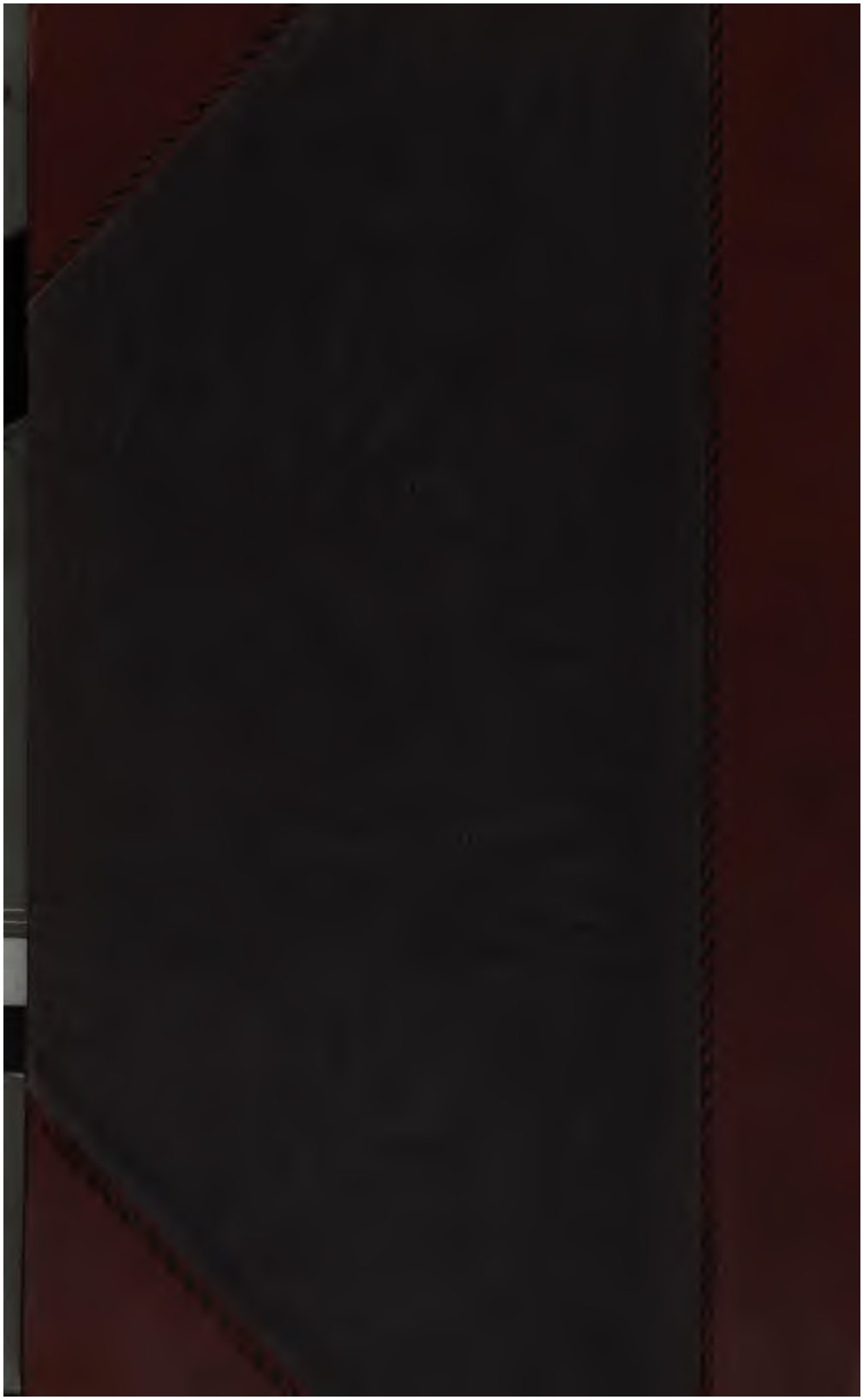
THIS work of Bellendenus will, beyond all doubt, gratify men of literary leiſure: but I do not wiſh it to languiſh in the hands of thoſe, whoſe daily and vernacular ſpeech betrays the loquacious diſcipline of their youth; who, though moſt profoundly ignorant, talk boldly and pompouſly, in a vulgar dialect, about learning.

THE ſize of the volume is certainly increaſed by the Preface, but ſo as not at all to interfere with its price. I had not thought of writing it, till after I had poſitively agreed with the printer about the whole expence of the impreſſion, the copper plates, and price of the book. All that relates to Bellendenus I had finiſhed about the end of October.

THE reading, however, of theſe books had left a ſtrong impreſſion on my fancy, which was indeed the unavoidable conſequence of the variety, as well as dignity, with which they treat of the art of politics. Many things alſo occurred, which ſeemed ſo particularly appoſite with reſpect to our conſtitution, that I could not reſiſt the temptation of committing them to paper: ſo it happened that what was trifling in its commencement, progreſſively increaſed to the preſent ſize.

WHE-

WHETHER I have done well or ill, purpoſely diſcuſſing a ſubject full of difficulty and danger, gives me but little concern, if Bellendenus be but reſtored to that rank amongſt his fellow-citizens, of which he has been ſo long and ſo unjuſtly deprived.

London, 1787.

FINIS.